THE RAUZAT-US-SAFA

OR

GARDEN OF PURITY.

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CONTAINING

The Life of Muhammad the Apostle of Allah.

BY

MUHAMMAD BIN KHÂVENDSHÂH BIN MAHMÛD,
COMMONLY CALLED MIRKHOND.

PART II.

VOLUME FIRST.

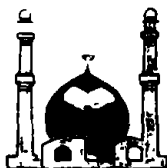
Translated from the Original Persian

BY

E. REHATSEK,

AND

EDITED BY

F. F. ARBUTHNOT, M.R.A.S.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

Two good biographies of Muhammad the apostle have been already laid before English readers, one by Mr. (now Sir William) Muir in 1858, another by Syed Ameer Ali in 1891. Both of these works are equally useful and equally interesting, the former written from the Christian, the latter from the Muhammadan, point of view. The two supply much information about the great monotheist and reformer obtained from the Korân, and from the traditions and histories of Ibn Ishâk, Ibn Hishâm, Al Wâqidi and his secretary Muhammad Bin Saad, Tabari, Ibn Athir, Abul Feda, Mirkhond and others. As no complete translation of a life of the prophet by any of these authors has yet appeared in English, such would seem to be a suitable work for the Oriental Translation Fund, New Series.

As it happened, two complete translations were in my possession—the one translated from the Arabic by the late Mr. E. Rehatsek, and entitled 'Biography of our Lord Muhammad, Apostle of Allah, according to the tradition of A'bd-ul-Malek Ibn Hishâm, obtained from Muhammad Ibn Ishâk'; the other translated by the same gentleman from the Persian of Mirkhond's 'Rauzat-us-safa.' It was a question which of these should be published. As Ibn Hishâm had, however, been already translated into German by Dr. Weil, and as Mirkhond's 'Life of Muhammad' had not been translated into any European language, it was considered advisable to commence with Mirkhond's work, more especially as Part I. of this author's voluminous history already formed the first two volumes of this series. The present Part II.

will consist of three volumes, the first two of which will give the life of Muhammad, and the third the lives of his immediate successors, Abu Bakr, O'mar, O'thmân and A'li.

The translator has pointed out in his preface, and footnotes 5 and 21, that Muhammad himself never claimed any supernatural powers; that the attribution of miracles to the prophet is not warranted by the Korân; and that there is a space of seven hundred years between the two biographies mentioned in the preceding paragraph. But tradition, which grows with time as stories grow with repetition, has now heaped a mass of wonders upon the apostle's head. The earliest life of this great man, written by Ibn Ishâk and Ibn Hishâm in a very detailed and sober manner, makes but slight mention of miracles. But the Muhammadan masses, like the masses everywhere, are averse to philosophy, and hunger after marvels. Their understandings seem attainable only through their imagination and their senses. In a word, they prefer miracles to historical facts And so it comes about that, the later the life of Muhammad, the greater the number of his miracles, and the more of them the better for the popularity of the work.

Of all the distinguished and illustrious men made known to us by history, the great monotheist Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, is one of the most famous He has, moreover, this great advantage over his predecessors, such as Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha, and Jesus, that the dates connected with him have never been disputed, and that there are complete details of his life from the cradle to the grave. And, indeed, it may be said that there are more than details about him. The great traditionist Al-Bokhâri, whose collection of traditions of the Muhammadan religion holds the first place both as regards authority and correctness, selected seven thousand two hundred and seventy-five of the most authentic out of ten thousand, all of which he regarded as being true, having rejected two hundred thousand as false. His book is held in the highest admiration, and considered both in

spiritual and temporal matters as next in authority to the Korân. He was born A.D. 810, and died 870.

As a monotheist, Muhammad always protested against the Trinity established by the Councils of Nice and Constantinople, A.D. 325 and 381. Though always freely admitting the claims of Jesus to be one of the greatest prophets, he called him always the son of Mary, saying: 'Verily Jesus the son of Mary is the apostle of God, and His Word, which he conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Himself. Believe therefore in God, and His apostles, and say not, There are three Gods; forbear this; it will be better for you. God is only one God. Far be it from His glory that He should have a son! unto Him beloneth whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and God is a sufficient Protector' (Korân, ch. iv. 169).

As a reformer, Muhammad preached against female infanticide and blood-vengeance, common practices among the Arabs at that period; also against idolatry, usury, gambling, drinking, and cruelty to animals. 'Fear God with regard to animals,' he said; 'ride them when they are fit to be ridden, and get off when they are tired Verily there are rewards for our doing good to dumb animals, and giving them water to drink.' He improved the legal status of women, and advocated kindness to them, and strongly urged that slaves should be treated in the most considerate and humane manner.

On the subject of charity he was most explicit, and enjoins it in many passages of his Korân. In fact, it may be truly said that every kind of reform was promulged, and had Muhammad lived in our times he would have taken an active part in nearly all the societies now existing in London and elsewhere for the amelioration of the human race. He would, moreover, have done an immense deal for the cause of total abstinence and temperance generally.

It is highly probable that when Muhammad first began his public exhortations he had a strong idea of bringing not only the Arabs, but also the Jews and Christians,

into his fold, and establishing one faith on the basis of one God, Almighty, Eternal, Merciful, Compassionate. It was on this account, perhaps, that he introduced into certain Surahs, or chapters, of the Korân a good deal of matter connected with our Old and New Testaments. Indeed, he went so far as to state that his advent had been foretold in the Evangel or Gospel. He particularly mentioned Abraham as the Father of the Faith, and acknowledged that there had already existed many prophets, apostles, and messengers. He quoted nine of these last as special messengers, viz., Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Job, David, Jesus the son of Mary, and himself. To five of these he gave special titles. Noah was the preacher of God, Abraham the friend of God, Moses the converser with God, Jesus the spirit of God, and he himself the apostle or messenger of God. But of the nine above mentioned, four only, viz., Moses, David, Jesus, and Muhammad, held the highest rank as prophet-apostles.

It is to be regretted that detailed and reliable biographies of all these prophets* have not come down to us similar to the one contained in the following pages. Nothing more is now likely to be known about them than is known already, and the dates of some of them can only be fixed as belonging to prehistoric times. Of Muhammad himself, however, it may be said that had he not in A.D. 595 married a wealthy widow, it is probable that he would not have had the time or leisure to pursue the studies and meditations which led to the promulgation of his mission in A.D 610. 'There can be no doubt that by this time he had acquired, as well through his own observation and inquiry, as through intimate converse with Warakah (reputed the most learned Arab of the age), considerable acquaintance with the dogmas of Judaism and Christianity; that he had some knowledge of certain books of our Old Testament, of the Talmud, and the Gospels; that he was thoroughly versed in Arab

* The Moslem version of their lives will be found in the two volumes forming Part I. of this series.

legendary lore, and that, being gifted with a ready flow of speech, an ardent imagination, together with a bold and enterprising spirit, he was well equipped for carrying out that grand social and religious revolution among his countrymen which he contemplated.'

The most important event in his career was the departure from Mekkah to Madinah, due in the first instance, probably, to the war between the Awus and the Khazraj tribes, in which the latter were defeated. Their chiefs came to Mekkah to ask assistance from the Qoraish, which was refused; but hearing about Muhammad, they interviewed him before their departure, and this interview led to the subsequent two meetings at A'kâbah, and the sending of Mossa'b Bin Omayrah to propound the Korân at Madinah, and prepare the way for the arrival of Muhammad himself and his followers, which took place in A.D. 622.

The events which happened in Mekkah from A.D. 610 to 622 are fully described in this work, but his mission during that period was not successful. At Madinah, however, everything changed. Muhammad was received with acclamation, became a sort of pope-king, and for the rest of his life (*i.e.*, till 632) was engaged in military expeditions, diplomatic arrangements, spiritual instruction, and social legislation. He changed the Kiblah from Jerusalem to Mekkah, appointed Friday as the Moslem Sunday, and adopted the call to prayers instead of the Jewish trumpet or Christian bell. He also seems to have given up the idea of bringing the Jews and Christians into his fold, and arranged his religion so as to suit the Arabs, in accordance with many of their old customs. At the same time, however, he seems to have borrowed from the Magians and Jews some of their customs, as ably described in the eight sections of the preliminary discourse of Sale's translation of the Korân.

A perusal of these two volumes (now translated for the first time) will give a good idea of the surroundings of Muhammad, of the life he led, and of the manners and customs of the Arabs of his time. Much information is

also given of how, when and where many verses of the Korân were first revealed and promulgated; and, above all, it is evident that his intelligence department was excessively good. He always seems to have received early intimation of everything that was going on around him, and on several occasions took advantage of the same for the benefit of himself and his cause.

The intelligent reader, to whom Mirkhond so frequently appeals in these pages, and to whom this work is respectfully dedicated, will perceive that facts and fiction, or rather accurate history and tradition, are mixed up and blended together in such a way that it is difficult to separate the one from the other. In this he must exercise his own judgment as to probabilities, and he would also be much assisted by a perusal of Sir William Muir's 'Life of Muhammad,' in which correct historical data fill the body of the work, while many of the traditions are given in the footnotes.

Shorn of all stories and traditions, the dates of the principal events of Muhammad's life may be chronologically arranged as follows:

His birth at Mekkah, A.D. 570, his father having died some months previously.

His christening by the name of Muhammad—*i.e.*, the Praised One.

His bringing up in the desert of the Bani Sa'ad by a Bedouin nurse named Halimah, the wife of Hârith, for five years.

His mother, Aminah, took him, aged six, to Madinah to present him to his maternal relations there. She died on the return journey, A.D. 576.

Under the guardianship of his grandfather, A'bd-ul-Muttalleb (who loved him dearly), for two years—from six to eight, when A'bd-ul-Muttalleb died, A.D. 578.

Under the guardianship of his uncle, Abu Tâleb, the uterine brother of his father Abdullah.

When about twelve years of age Muhammad accompanied his uncle, Abu Taleb, into Syria on a mercantile ex-

pedition. His first visit to that country, and his experiences there, A.D. 582.

His presence during the sacri'egious war at a battle between certain tribes at or near Okâtz.

His attendance at sundry preachings and poetical and eloquent recitations at Okâtz, where it is said he imbibed the first lessons of the art of poetry and the power of rhetoric, and also acquired certain religious sentiments.

His life as a shepherd in the neighbourhood of Mekkah.

His acquisition of the title of Al-Amin, or the Trustworthy.

Abu Tâleb recommends him to seek employment, and mentions his name to Khodaijah.

His second visit to Syria, when twenty-five years old (A.D. 595), on a mercantile expedition as agent to the widow Khodaijah, and his acquisition of religious impressions there.

His successful business, and his marriage (A.D. 595) on his return to Khodaijah his first wife, fifteen years his senior in age, and by whom he had six children, two of whom died very young.

The rebuilding of the Ka'bah in A.D. 605, in which Muhammad accidentally takes a prominent part. Adopts his cousin, A'li Bin Abu Tâleb, and his slave, Zaid Bin Hâreth.

His solitary contemplations and studies from the age of twenty-five to forty at Mekkah, and at the cave on Mount Hira, near Mekkah.

His yearnings after religious truth, and his first poetic productions.

His mental depressions.

His first inspirations from the angel Gabriel, A.D. 610.

His account of his visions to his wife, who became the first convert to Al-Islam, the creed of Muhammad.

His next converts were A'li Murtadza—*i.e.*, the Select, his adopted son and cousin; Zaid B. Hâreth, also an adopted son; and A'bdullah Bin O'thmân Abu Kahafa, one of the most worthy and influential men of Mekkah, and

afterwards called Abu Bakr, or 'The Father of the Virgin,' 'The Companion of the Cave,' 'The Second of the Two,' 'Ssiddiq, or the Veracious One,' etc., and who eventually became the first *Khalifah*, or Successor.

Other conversions followed—viz., Sa'ad B. Abu Woqqâss, the nephew of Aminah; Zobeir B. Al-Awam, the nephew of Khodaijah, and Muhammad's cousin; Tolhah B. Abdullah; Othmân B. O'ffan, surnamed 'Dhu-n-nûrin,' or 'Endued with two Lights,' the third Khalifah or Successor after Abu Bakr and O'mar, and who first married Rukya, and on her death Omm Kalthûm, both daughters of Muhammad; Abd-ur-rahman B. Awuf, and several more.

His assumption of the title of Apostle of God and the commencement of his mission, A.D. 610.

His frequent revelations for three years, and his public preaching to the Koraish, who would not listen to him, but looked on him as a half-witted poet.

His denouncement of idolatry, and the consequent persecutions of himself and his followers by the Koraish.

Conversions in the house of Arcam, afterwards styled the house of Islâm, A.D. 614.

The first emigration to Abyssinia of some of his followers by his advice, A.D. 615, and their speedy return.

The lapse of Muhammad and his idolatrous concession, but afterwards disowned and disavowed.

The second emigration to Abyssinia, A.D. 615-16.

Abu Tâleb refuses to abandon the protection of Muhammad, though urged by the Koraish to leave him.

The conversion of Hamzah B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and of O'mar B. Al-Khattâb, surnamed Farûq the Discerner, and of thirty-nine adherents of the latter—a great event, A.D. 615-16.

The Koraish try to come to terms with Muhammad, but fail.

The prohibition of all intercourse with Muhammad and his followers by order of the Koraish, and a general persecution.

The excommunication of Muhammad and of the descend-

ants of Hâshem and A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, which lasted for three years. They retired to the Shi'b of Abu Tâleb, where they suffered much privation, A.D. 617 to 619-20.

By the sympathies of some of the Koraish, and from the discovery that the document of excommunication had been destroyed by insects, they were all released from the Shi'b, A.D. 619-20.

The death of his first wife, Khodaijah, in December, A.D. 619, and of his uncle, Abu Tâleb, in January, A.D. 620.

His critical position. He seeks an asylum at Tâif, January and February, A.D. 620, but not being well received, returns to Mekkah, remaining there in comparative retirement.

His marriage, A.D. 620, to his second wife, Sowdah Bint Zamaah, and widow of Sakran, and his betrothal to A'aishah, the daughter of Abu Bakr, then only eight years old.

The first meeting at the Pilgrimage with certain chiefs of the Khazraj tribe, who, having been defeated by the Awus tribe, had come from Madinah to Mekkah, to see if the Koraish would assist them: but this being refused they interviewed Muhammad, who expounded his views, April, A.D. 620.

The above led to the conference at A'kâbah, a hill on the north side of Mekkah, with the men of certain tribes resident at Yathreb (Madinah), who took an oath to be faithful to Muhammad and his religion. This is called 'the first pledge of A'kâbah, April, A.D. 621.

The despatch of Mossa'b B. Omayrah, a Mekkan disciple, to Yathreb, for the purpose of giving instruction in the Korân, and the rites of the new religion, also to ascertain how things looked there, and to prepare the way for the arrival of Muhammad and his companions.

The night of the ladder or the miraculous journey first from Mekkah to Jerusalem upon the beast named Borak, and then the ascent from Jerusalem to the seven heavens under the guidance of Gabriel, and what he saw there. Apparently a dream or vision, A.D. 621.

Second meeting at A'kâbah, called 'the second pledge of

A'kâbah,' speeches made and engagements ratified, March, A.D. 622.

Distrust of the Koraish. Proposal to kill Muhammad, who had advised his followers to flee to Yathreb, April and May, A.D. 622.

In June, A.D. 622, Muhammad himself secretly leaves Mekkah with Abu Bakr. They first go to the cave Thor, about three miles to the south of Mekkah, and reach Yathreb (henceforward to be called Al-Madinah) a few days afterwards.

On his way there, at Koba, a village two miles to the south of Madinah, he laid the foundation of a mosque called 'The fear of God.' This was the first temple raised by Islâm.

Enthusiastic reception at Madinah; a charter drawn up, and Muhammad assumes the reins of both temporal and spiritual authority.

His family arrives from Mekkah

EVENTS OF THE FIRST YEAR OF THE HEGIRA, OR FLIGHT FROM MEKKAH (FROM JULY 16, A.D. 622, TO JULY 4, A.D. 623).

Muhammad completes his house and mosque at Madinah and draws up a bond of union between the Anssârs, or auxiliaries of Madinah, and the Mohâjers, or refugees from Mekkah.

Sickness of many of the refugees owing to the insalubrity of the climate of Madinah.

His covenant with certain Jewish tribes to maintain a strict neutrality on both sides.

The marriage with his third wife A'aishah consummated, January, A.D. 623.

Friday appointed as the day for public service in the mosque; the call to prayer established, and some minor expeditions after Mekkan caravans.

A.H. 2 (FROM JULY 5, A.D. 623, TO JUNE 28, A.D. 624).

The Kiblah, or place to which the face was turned in prayer, changed from Jerusalem to Mekkah; the fast of Ramadzân, and the tithe or poor rate instituted.

Commencement of hostilities with the people of Mekkah, the first blood shed, and the first booty taken by the Moslems.

Several minor expeditions.

Marriage of his daughter Fattimah to Ali B. Abu Tâleb, his adopted son and cousin.

Battle of Bedr, a victory, January, A.D. 624

A Surah, or chapter, issued about 'The Spoils,' how to be divided, which now forms chapter viii. of the Korân.

Death of Rukya, daughter of Muhammad, who had been married to O'thman Bin O'ffan.

Assassination of O'ssma the Jewess and of Abu Afak

Commencement of disputes with the Jews, and the exile of the Bani Qaynuqaa', a Jewish tribe settled near Madinah, to Syria, February, A.D. 624.

The Ghazwah, or expedition of Sawyq.

Various minor expeditions.

A.H. 3 (FROM JUNE 24, A.D. 624, TO JUNE 12, A.D. 625).

Murder of K'ab Bin Ashraf.

Some more expeditions.

Marriage of Muhammad to Hafssah, the daughter of O'mar, on the death of her husband Khoneis—his fourth wife, November, A.D. 624.

Defeat at Ohod, January, A.D. 625.

Further military expeditions.

A.H. 4 (FROM JUNE 13, 625, TO JUNE 1, 626).

Calamities at Rajya' and Bara Moa'wiah.

Assassination of Sofyân B. Khâled.

Ghazwah of the Bani-Natzyr, a Jewish tribe residing near Madinah, and their exile.

Muhammad marries a fifth wife, Zainab, the daughter of

Khodhaimah, and widow of his cousin O'baidah, who had been killed at Bedr.

Further hostilities with Arab tribes.

He marries his sixth wife, Omm Salmah, the widow of Abû Salmah, who died of a wound received at Ohod, February, 626.

More expeditions

A.H. 5 (FROM JUNE 2, 626, TO MAY 22, 627).

Muhammad marries his seventh wife, Zainab, the daughter of Jahsh and wife of Zaid Bin Hareth, who divorced her that she might marry the prophet, Zaid being his freedman and adopted son, 626.

Ghazwah of Rabyi', also called Ghazwah of the Bani Mosstalaq

Muhammad marries his eighth wife, Jariiah, daughter of Hareth B. Abu Dharâr, December, 626.

A'aishah, the favourite wife, and the daughter of Abu Bakr, accused of adultery. but eventually acquitted by a Divine revelation.

Siege of Madinah, or War of the Ditch, or War of the Confederates, February and March, 627.

Expedition against, and massacre of, the Bani Qoryttah, a Jewish tribe near Madinah March, 627.

A.H. 6 (FROM MAY 23, 627, TO MAY 10, 628)

Several minor expeditions.

Murder of Abu Râfi', December, 627.

An intended pilgrimage to Mekkah, but to this the Koraish object, and Muhammad and his followers do not go farther than Hodaybiah, March, 628. The Pledge or Covenant of the Tree.

A truce and a treaty made with the Koraish for ten years, and permission given to Muhammad to visit Mekkah the next year for three days only, March, 628.

After the treaty the Bani Khozaa'h joined the prophet, and the Bani Bakr the Koraish.

A.H. 7 (FROM MAY 11, 628, TO APRIL 30, 629).

Letters sent by Muhammad under his new seal to foreign sovereigns and princes inviting them to embrace Islâm.

Mary, the Coptic maid, sent to him by Maqoqush, the Governor of Alexandria, in reply to his letter, is taken on as a concubine.

Expedition against the Jews of Khaiber, and its complete success, August, 628.

His marriage to the ninth wife, Ssofyah, the wife of Kunanah, who was executed after the victory at Khaiber, August, 628. He partakes of a poisoned kid dressed and offered to him by a woman named Zainab.

His marriage with Omm Habiba, widow of O'baidallah and daughter of Abu Sofyân—the tenth wife, October, 628.

Several small expeditions.

Despatch of further letters to foreign potentates and princes.

His pilgrimage to Mekkah for three days as previously stipulated, and known as 'The solemn visit of the fulfilment,' or 'Pilgrimage by Divine predestination,' February, 629.

His marriage with Maymûnah, the sister-in-law of his uncle Abbas—the eleventh and last wife.

A.H. 8 (FROM MAY 1, 629, TO APRIL 19, 630).

Further important conversions at Mekkah, such as Othman Bin Ttolhah, the guardian of the Ka'bah; Amru or Amr B. Al-Aasi, a man renowned for sagacity, and who, during the Khalifate of O'mar, conquered Egypt; and Khaled Bin Wolyd, whose exploits obtained for him the title of 'The Sword of God' This last was the most talented general of the Moslems.

Several military excursions.

Battle at Mowtah with certain Syrian tribes subject to the Roman authorities, September, 629 A defeat, but Muhammad was not there

Further military expeditions.

Various tribes tender their submission

Expedition against Mekkah, and its complete success Destruction of pictures, images, and idols at Mekkah and the surrounding districts, January, 630.

Expedition against the Bani Thaqif at Tâif, and their allies the Bani Hoázan, and the battle of Honain, February, 680

Siege of Tâif, and its abandonment, followed by the submission of Malik, the chief of the Bani Hoazân, and the greater part of his tribe, March, 630

Muhammad performs the lesser pilgrimage, and returns to Madinah

The birth of a son by his Coptic slave and concubine Mary, April, 630 The boy, named Ebrâhim, lived over a year, and died June or July, 631.

A.H 9 (FROM APRIL 20, 630, TO APRIL 8, 631).

Quarrel with his legitimate wives about Mary the Coptic slave, whom he freed after the birth of the child Quarrel settled after a month.

Collectors deputed to collect the tithes from the various tribes, April, 630

Some minor expeditions.

Conversion of the poet K'ab, the son of Zoheir, author of the famous 'Poem of the Mantle.'

Deputations from various Arab and Christian tribes.

Campaign of Tabuk, which ended without fighting, and the submission of many tribes, October to December, 630.

Deputation from Taif, and submission of the tribe and destruction of their idols, December, 630.

Pilgrimage of Abu Bakr and A'li to Mekkah, with certain instructions from Muhammad, who did not go himself, March, 681.

More deputations and embassies from Arab and Christian tribes.

A.H. 10 (FROM APRIL 9, 631, TO MARCH 28, 632).

Further deputations from, and submission of, various tribes.

Expedition of A'li to Yemen, December, 631.

Muhammad's solemn and greater pilgrimage to Mekkah, March, 632.

His speeches at this pilgrimage, known in Muhammadan history as 'The pilgrimage of the announcement,' or 'The pilgrimage of Islam,' or 'The farewell pilgrimage.' His establishment of the lunar year, his farewell addresses, and his return to Madinah.

A.H. 11 (FROM MARCH 29, 632, TO MARCH 18, 633).

The three revolts—one headed by Tulaihah Bin Khuwailid, a famous warrior of Najd; one by Moseylamah, the liar or false prophet; and one by Al-Aswad, all of which were eventually completely crushed after Muhammad's death by Abu Bakr and his generals.

Another expedition to Syria projected.

Indisposition of Muhammad.

His health becomes worse, his retirement to A'aishah's apartment; his final discourses.

Abu Bakr appointed to lead the public prayers; Muhammad's last appearance in the mosque at Madinah; his death and burial, June, A.D. 632.

The intelligent reader will also perceive that in this work many of the proper names are curiously spelt. It will be found that *i* and *y*, *s* and *ss*, *t* and *tt*, *z*, *dz*, and *dh* are often indiscriminately used in the same names; while the vowels *a*, *e*, *o* and *u* sometimes vary in them. Such discrepancies are very apparent, but I thought it best to follow the translator's transliteration throughout. A transliteration of my own might have been also open to many objections, though the names would always have been spelt in the same way.

As Mr Rehatsek died in December, 1891, neither this matter nor any proof-sheets could be submitted to him. It is probable that the lithographed copy of the work from which

he made his translation contained many errors, and as he appears to have accurately and faithfully rendered into English what was before him, this may account for some of the mistakes. It is well known that before most Oriental works can be properly translated the texts of them should be collated with several copies of the same, a correct text then prepared, and after that the translation. Had this course been followed, it is doubtful if the present work would ever have appeared in English. And as it is on the whole both valuable and interesting, it seemed better to print it with the imperfections rather than to leave it for ever in manuscript.

The next volume, containing the lives of Abu Bakr, O'mar, O'thmân, and A'li, the immediate successors of Muhammad, will be published in 1894.

F. F. ARBUTHNOT

18, PARK LANE,
LONDON, W.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

The various religions current in the world tend more or less to satisfy the insatiable craving of man for superhuman revelations, promising direction in this world and beatitude in the next. Not the least of these religions is Islâm, whose professors are counted by millions in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The life of Muhammad, although described by several, it may be said numerous, European authors, will never cease to be interesting; unfortunately, however, no attempts have been made by them to represent the founder of Islâm in the light in which the adherents of that religion look upon him. This point has generally been overlooked, and a life of the prophet, from the Moslem point of view, has to this day remained a desideratum. The partial and inimical view taken by some European authors is not calculated to promote either good feeling or a better acquaintance with the character of Muhammad; it must, however, be admitted that even Christian missionaries, who are generally biased against him, sometimes give utterance to sentiments which will not displease Moslems. Thus, for instance, the Rev. J. P. Hughes, missionary to the Afghans, says[1]: 'We give Muhammad credit as a warrior, as a legislator, as a poet, as a man of uncommon genius, raising himself amidst great opposition to a pinnacle of renown; we admit that he is, without doubt, one of the greatest heroes the world has ever seen!' This is the bright side of Mr. Hughes's picture, but it will be

[1] 'Notes on Muhammadanism' London, 1875, p 4

best to withhold its foil, because it would serve no good purpose, and only stir up ill feeling.

Muhammad was honoured by the Moslems,[2] and is now; but there were two prominent periods in his checkered career; one in which he was disbelieved, and the other in which he was venerated and powerful. The former period is alluded to by himself as follows: 'And the unbelievers say: This [Qurân] is no other than a forgery which he hath contrived, and other people have assisted him therein: but they utter an unjust thing and a falsehood. They also say: [These are] fables of the ancients which he hath caused to be written down; and they are dictated unto him morning and evening.'[3] And: 'We also know that they say: Verily a [certain] man teacheth him [to compose the Qurân] The tongue [of the person] unto whom they incline is a foreign [tongue]; but this [wherein the Qurân is written] is the perspicuous Arabic tongue.'[4] Ebn Esahâq observes[5] that the prophet often conversed with a Christian slave of the Bani-al-Hadhrama whose name was Jabru, and that the people said: 'By Allah! nobody but Jabru teaches Muhammad a great deal of what he is promulging,' and that on this account the above verse was revealed. Passages from the Quran may be adduced to show that Muhammad was by the Arabs, who afterwards

[2] So great was the respect the prophet enjoyed among his followers even during his life-time, that anything that fell from him, *e.g.*, nails, hairs, saliva, etc, was picked up by them and carefully preserved The Khalifah Moa'viah, when on his deathbed, A H 60 (679-680 A D.) gave orders that the hairs and parings of the nails of the prophet, which he had himself collected many years ago when near him, should be stuffed into his own mouth and ears after his demise. He confessed his great sinfulness, and though he at the same time professed his firm belief in the mercy of God, there is no doubt that a superstitious feeling prompted him, like so many others, to believe that he would have a better chance of salvation with the prophet's hair and parings on him.

[3] Qurân, ch xxv 5, 6.

[4] *Ibid*, ch. xvi. 105

[5] 'Kitâb Siret Rasulullah,' p 260, ed. Wustenfeld. This 'Biography of the apostle of Allah,' composed in the eighth century of our era, has been translated by me from Arabic into English, and having been written more than seven centuries before the present one, now in the hands of the readers, will enable them to institute comparisons between the earliest biography of the prophet and later productions. I hope it will be published.

became his devoted followers, at first considered to be not only a poet,[6] possessed with a devil,[7] but a sorcerer,[8] and even a madman.[9]

As the power of Muhammad increased, opposition diminished; the more so as a general fermentation and craving for a revolution in the idolatry of Arabia, which was effete, had begun to manifest itself, and the gods were losing the honours enjoyed by them when Muhammad appeared as a reformer, and responded to the signs of the times by promulgating monotheism. The fabric of polytheism in Arabia, unsupported by a powerful sacerdotal class, or a hoary literature with doctrines firmly settled, and permeating the whole life of the people, as in ancient Assyria, Egypt, China or India, easily crumbled to pieces under the incessant blows of the word and the sword of Muhammad. He was the embodiment of a noble idea—of the impulse to emancipate the Arabs from the thraldom of idolatry; he lived for it only; he struggled for it until it became a practical and a triumphant fact, the basis on which conquests were made and empires founded. Grand exploits cannot be achieved in white kid gloves, and severity became often necessary to check opposition, which, if it had been allowed to go on, might have endangered not only the plans and aims, but the very life of the prophet, who had patiently and dexterously overcome ridicule, scepticism and insults. Resistance could no longer be endured after he had attained power, and 'O'mar's sword was readily unsheathed to punish such sceptical temerity, and Muhammad himself frequently visited it in the early part of his Madinah career with assassination, and on the conquest of Mekkah with open execution.'[10] The dreadful punishment to which Muhammad subjected a number of the Baghila tribe by gradually cutting off their limbs is alluded to even in the Qurân, as follows: 'But the recompense of those who fight against Allah and His

[6] Qurân, ch. xxvi. [7] *Ibid.*, xv. 6.
[8] *Ibid.*, x 2. [9] *Ibid.*, xvii 50.
[10] Sir William Muir's 'Life of Mahomet,' vol i, Introduction, p. 72.

apostle, and study to act corruptly in the earth [shall be] that they shall be slain, or crucified, or have their hands and feet cut off on opposite [sides] and banished the land.'[11] On another occasion Muhammad ordered the tongue of A'bbâs Bin Merdâs to be cut out for lampooning him in verses.[12] These are indeed cruelties, according to the opinions prevalent in our times of modern civilization, but we possess no accurate knowledge of the causes which had provoked them, and which, perhaps, made them more excusable than we are disposed to allow. These blemishes disappear when the great results of the leading doctrines of Islâm are taken into consideration, which have answered to the deepest religious wants of the Arabs, and satisfied them more fully than, not only the polytheism, but also the corrupt Christianity which those doctrines displaced.

It is a mistaken opinion that Islâm has no vitality or power of expansion, and although some Europeans may entertain it, Lord Lytton, a former Viceroy of India, did not. He believed not only in the past, but augured well also for the future of Islâm. In his reply to the address presented to him on the 8th January, 1877, when he laid the foundation-stone of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental college at Aligurh, he said, among other things: 'I congratulate you on the vigour with which you are putting your shoulders to the wheel. Only give to this institution the means of adequately satisfying the requirements of the modern system of education, and you will thereby have given it also a just and recognised claim to such assistance as it may from time to time be in the power of Government to extend to voluntary efforts on behalf of such education. This I promise you, and I promise it the more willingly, because the whole tone of your address assures me that my promise, instead of inducing you to relax the efforts you are now making, will encourage your perseverance in the prosecution and extension of them. You have observed in the course of that address, that by the Muhammadan

[11] Qurân, ch. v 37.
[12] 'Kitâb Siret Rasulullah,' p 881, ed Wustenfeld.

race its religion is regarded "not merely as a matter of abstract belief, but also as the ultimate guide in the most secular concerns of life." Gentlemen, I conceive this to be the true spirit of all sincere religious belief; for the guidance of human conduct in relation to all the duties of life is the professed object of every religion, whatever the name, and whatever the form of it. But, I am sure, you will be the last to admit that anything in the creed of Islâm is incompatible with the highest forms of intellectual culture. The greatest and most enduring conquests of the Muhammadan races have all been achieved in the fields of science, literature and art. Not only have they given to a great portion of this continent an architecture which is still the wonder and admiration of the world, but, in an age when the Christian societies of Europe had barely emerged out of intellectual darkness and social barbarism, they covered the whole Iberian peninsula with schools of medicine, of mathematics and philosophy far in advance of all contemporary science: and to this day the populations of Spain and Portugal are for their very sustenance mainly dependent on the past labours of Moorish engineers. But Providence has not confided to any single race a permanent initiative in the direction of human thought, or the development of social life. The modern culture of the West is now in a position to repay the great debt owed by it to the early wisdom of the East. It is to the activity of Western ideas, and the application of Western science, that we must look for the social and political progress of the Indian Empire; and it is in the absorption of these ideas, and the mastery of that science, that I exhort the Muhammadans of India to seek and find new fields of conquest, and fresh opportunities for the achievements of a noble ambition.' Since the time of Lord Lytton Muhammadan education has made considerable progress in India.

The manner in which the first chapter of the Qurân was revealed to the prophet must have shocked his whole nature, because, if we are to believe the following statement, he was so disheartened after he had received the

revelation that he intended to commit suicide. Ebn Esahâq, in Tabari, p. 91, has, from Wahb Bin Qaisân, a client of the Zobair family, a statement that this Wahb said: 'A'bdullah Bin Zobair requested O'baid[3] Bin O'mair Bin Qotâda to narrate to him the beginning of the revelation. He complied with the wish, and I with others listened to his narrative, which was as follows:'

'The prophet was accustomed every year to spend some time at Hira in holy exercises. This is one of the localities in which the Qoraish were accustomed to perform the Tahannoth, which means to sanctify one's self. Abu Ttâleb says: "I swear by Thawr, and by Him who has put Mount Thabir into its place, and by one who ascends to and again descends from Mount Hira for sanctification."'

'The prophet annually spent a month there, and fed the poor who came to him. When he returned after the expiration of a month, he went seven times round the Ka'bah ere he returned home. When the month approached in which Allah had determined to manifest His miracles to him, *i.e.*, the Ramazân of the year in which he obtained his mission, he went, according to custom, with his family to Hira. During the night in which Allah glorified him and took pity on mankind, Jebrâil came to him.' Muhammad narrates the rest in the following words: 'He came to me while I slept, and brought a cloth of brocade, in which was a book, and said: Read! I replied: I do not read. Then he pressed me till I believed I was undone. At last he let me go, and said again: Read! I replied: I do not read. He again pressed me till I believed I was undone. He let go his hold, and said: Read! I answered: What shall I read? I gave this reply merely to escape, for fear he would again treat me as before. He said: Read! In the name of thy Lord, who hath created [all things]; who hath created man of congealed blood. Read by the most beneficent Lord, who taught the use of the

[3] He was a story-teller of the Mekkans, who died about A.H. 74 (A.D. 693). See Dr. A. Sprenger's 'Leben und Lehre des Muhammad,' vol. i., p. 340.

pen, who teacheth man that which he knoweth not, etc.[14] Then he finished and left me. I awoke from sleep, and felt as if a book [a covenant] had been written in my heart. *I hated nothing more in the whole creation than poets and men possessed of Jinns. I could not bear the sight of them. Therefore I said to Khodaijah: He of whom such a thing would not have been believed is either a poet or governed by a Jinn. He meant his own self. Tell it by no means to the Qoraish. I am going to the top of a mountain to leap down from it. I shall commit suicide to find rest; to carry out this intention*[15] I went as far as the middle of the mountain, but then I heard a voice from heaven which called: O Muhammad, thou art the ambassador of Allah, and I am Jebrâil! I turned my eyes heavenwards, and perceived Jebrâil in human form. His feet were on the horizon, and he called out: O Muhammad, thou art the ambassador of Allah, and I am Jebrail! I stopped and looked at him. *This kept me back from my intention*—I went neither forward nor backward. Then I looked round the whole horizon, and wherever I looked I saw him always in the same form. I remained standing quietly, without going forward or backward, till Khodaijah sent people to search for me. They went as far as Mekkah, and returned to Hira, and I was standing all the time there. At last the angel disappeared, and I returned to my family. I sat down on the lap of Khodaijah and hugged her. She said: O Ab-ul-Qâsim, where hast thou been? I have sent out men to look for thee, and they have been in Mekkah but have not found thee. I said to her: *He of whom it would*

[14] This is now ch xcvi. of the Qurân. See Ebn Esahâq. Ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 151, *seq.*

[15] The Arabic text is printed in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1850. The objectionable passages here printed in italics are omitted in the 'editio castigata,' and do not occur in Wustenfeld's edition of the 'Kitâb Siret Rasulullah,' although therein the narrative of Wahb B'n Qaisân is in other respects more copious than here given; which the reader may peruse and compare when my translation is printed. The heading of the article is. 'Beginning of the descent of Jebrâil.' In the present work his intention to commit suicide is alluded to further on under the heading, 'The descent of the revelation, the coming of Jebrâil, etc.'

not he believed is a poet, or possessed by Jinns. She said: Allah is my protection, O Ab-ul-Qâsim. Allah will never allow such a thing to happen to thee, for thou speakest the truth, observest fidelity, hast good morals, and livest well with thy relatives. What makest thee think so? Hast thou perhaps seen something? I answered Yes! I narrated to her what I had seen. She said: Be glad, my beloved husband; be of good cheer. He in whose hand the life of Khodaijah is, is witness that thou wilt be the prophet of this nation. Then she got up, dressed herself, and went to her cousin Waraqah. This Waraqah had become a convert to Christianity, had read the Bible, and had listened to Jews and Christians. She related to him what her husband had seen and heard, and Waraqah exclaimed: Qoddus! Qoddus! [holy! holy!] if that be true what thou tellest me, then the greatest Nâmûs[16] has come to him, which had come to Mûsa [Moses], and he will be a prophet of this nation. Announce to him this, and tell him to be steadfast. Khodaijah returned to the prophet, and repeated what Waraqah had said. *This partly appeased his excitement.* When the time which he was wont to spend in Hira had expired, he returned to Mekkah and walked round the Ka'bah according to his custom, when he met Waraqah. At his request he informed him of what he had heard and seen, and Waraqah said: I swear by Him in whose hand the life of Waraqah is, that Allah has elevated thee to be the prophet of this nation, and the greatest Nâmûs has come to thee—the Nâmûs which had formerly come to Mûsa. They will call thee a liar, they will persecute thee, they will expel thee, and they will fight against thee. Would that I were able to live until that day, I would aid thee. *Then he kissed him on the forehead. The prophet went home, and the assertion of Waraqah was a great consolation, and diminished his anxiety.*'[17]

[16] This is only the Arabic pronunciation of the Greek word *nomos*, 'law'

[17] In the present work this first revelation, *i.e.*, Qurân, ch xcvi, is also described with the events accompanying it, under the heading of 'Descent of the revelation, the coming of *Jebrâil*, etc.'

There was a time when Muhammad seriously thought of coming to a compromise with his antagonists the idolaters, and to retain some of their gods, as will appear from the following verses of the fifty-third chapter of the Qurân, as it is alleged to have been originally revealed:

1. [I swear] By the Pleiades as they are setting;
2. Your countryman has neither strayed, nor is he confused.
3. And he speaks not according to his whims:
4. What he speaks is no other than a revelation which is being revealed to him:
5. Hereof he who is fitted out with great power has informed him

18. He has already seen the greatest miracle of his Lord.
19. Do you see Lât and O'zza,
20. And Manah, the third other [goddess]?
21. These are exalted Gharâniq,[18]
22. And indeed their intercession may be expected.

56. What favour of thy Lord wilt thou yet doubt of? [i.e., Why doubtest thou that Allah in His bounty has appointed tutelary deities as His intercessors?]
57. This one [i.e., Muhammad] is an admonisher as the previous admonishers were.
58. What is approaching [i.e., the judgment day] has approached; besides Allah there is nothing which might retard it.
59. Are ye astonished at this news?
60. And do you laugh instead of weep?
61. And do you joke?
62. Now fall down on your faces before Allah, and worship Him!

The arrangement of these verses is fully supported by the following text, which, moreover, occurs in the original

[18] In the sing. *Ghirniq.* Avis aquaticæ nomen, longo collo præditæ. *Kam.* (Et in describendo viro longo collo prædito adhibetur). Nonnullis est Grus. *Domair. Freytag.* Conf. the German 'Kranich.' The Arab idolaters believed that their idols interceded for them with God, and compared them to birds flying to heaven.

in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1850, No. 2.[19] Ebn Esahâq, in Tabari, p. 140, from Yazid Bin Ziâd Madani, from Muhammad Bin Ka'b Qorazi, who died A.H. 120 (A.D. 738), says:

'When the prophet saw that his people turned away from him, he was so pained that he turned away from the revelation which he brought them from Allah. He entertained a wish that Allah might send him a revelation which would effect a reconciliation between him and his people. As he loved his people, and wished to gain them over, he was anxious that his position towards them should be less painful. Whilst he was animated by such thoughts, wishes and hopes, Allah revealed to him the chapter [LIII.]: "By the Pleiades as they are setting; your countryman has neither gone astray, nor is he confused." And when he came to the words, "Do you see Lât and O'zza and Manah, the third deity," the devil placed words on his tongue corresponding to what he had considered and wished within himself: "These exalted Gharâniq, indeed their intercession may be expected." When the Qoraish heard this they were glad, and pleased that he had so honourably mentioned their gods, and they listened to him. The Moslems accepted the revelation which their prophet had promulged to them without suspecting that he had erred, and when he came to the [last] verse of the chapter, in which it is said "Prostrate yourselves," and when he had completed the chapter, he threw himself on the ground, and the orthodox followed his example, in order thereby to express that they believed in the revelation he had just announced, and that they followed him. Also the pagans among the Qoraish, as well as others who were present, prostrated themselves, because he had mentioned their gods in this [honourable] manner. There was neither a believer nor a heathen in the temple but prostrated himself, except Walid Bin Moghira. As he was an old man, he took up a handful of

[19] See Dr. Sprenger's 'Leben und Lehre des Muhammad,' vol. ii., p. 47.

dust and bowed his forehead to it. The people went home, and the Qoraish rejoiced that he had mentioned their gods, and said: "Muhammad has mentioned our gods in the most honourable manner; in what he recited, he said they were the exalted Gharâniq, and that their intercession is profitable." It became known to the emigrants in Abyssinia that the Mekkans had prostrated themselves, and it was also said that they had been converted. Some of them left Abyssinia, and others remained. Meanwhile, Jebrâil came to the prophet, and said to him: "What hast thou done, Muhammad? Thou hast recited something to the people which I have not brought thee from Allah." The prophet was much distressed at this event, and feared that Allah would punish him. Then Allah sent him a revelation[20] in which He is very merciful, facilitates the matter, and consoles him with the assurance that there was no prophet before him to whom, when he entertained similar wishes, the devil had not suggested similar words in conformity with his wish. Allah abrogated the verses inspired by the devil, and confirmed the genuine ones. In this manner He liberated him from his sorrow and fear. Instead of the words "These exalted Gharâniq, indeed their intercession may be expected," Allah placed the words: "How? Shall you have sons and Allah daughters? This would be an unequal arrangement. How many angels are there in heaven and their intercession nevertheless avails nothing, except when Allah permits it." Whereby He means to say: How can the intercession of your idols be accepted? When the Qoraish heard that Allah had abrogated the words of the devil, they said: "Muhammad has repented of having given his opinion concerning the position of our gods with Allah. He has changed his mind, and has put other words in their place." The two words which the devil had suggested were in the mouths of all the pagans; they made the evils still worse,

[20] Ch. xvii. 75: 'It wanted little [but the unbelievers] had tempted thee to swerve from [the instructions] which we have revealed unto thee, that thou shouldst devise concerning us a different thing; and then would they have taken thee for [their] friend,' etc.

and increased the persecutions to which his adherents were exposed. The orthodox, who had left Abyssinia, came as far as the environs of Mekkah, on the mere rumour that the Qoraish had prostrated themselves with Muhammad. But when they had there learnt how the matter stood, they ventured only secretly, and under the protection of a friend, into the town, etc.'

Ebn Esahâq, the earliest biographer of the prophet,[21] gives no detailed accounts of any of his miracles, but later authors record numbers of them, and the heading of the last article of the present work is: 'Some of the miracles and [the fulfilment of some] prayers of his lordship.' The attribution of miracles to the prophet is not warranted by the Qurân, as all must be fully aware who have studied it. In that book, however, the advent of Muhammad, under the name of Ahmed,[22] is stated to have been predicted by the Lord Jesus, and the Moslems have an authority on this point which they amplify. Thus Ebn Esahâq wrote: 'I am informed that the description of the prophet of Allah—u. w. b., etc.—which I'sa, the son of Mariam, had received from Allah and has revealed to the evangelists, was promulged by the apostle Yohannisu when he composed the gospel for them in the times of I'sa concerning the prophet of Allah—u. w. b., etc.—that he [I'sa] said: "Who hates me, verily hates the Lord; and had I not worked miracles in their presence, which no one worked before me, no guilt would be upon them. But henceforth they exult, and think they honour me and also the Lord. But it is necessary that the word be fulfilled, which is in

[21] As already mentioned in footnote 5, his 'Kitâb Siret Rasulullah' has been translated by me into English, and a comparison of it with the present work will show what additions have been made to the life of the prophet after a lapse of more than seven centuries. Ebn Esahâq died, according to Ebn Khallikan, about A.H. 151, and not later than 152 (A.D. 769), but according to Khalifa Bin Khajjat between A.H. 144 (A.D. 761) and 153 (A.D. 770); Mirkhond died A.D. 1498.

[22] Ch. lxi. 6: 'And when I'sa [Jesus] the son of Mariam [Mary] said: O children of Esrâil, verily I am the apostle of Allah [sent] unto you, confirming the law which [was delivered] before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed.'

the Nâmûs [the law], that they have hated me gratuitously, *i.e.*, in vain, because verily the Manhamannâ is coming; it is he whom Allah will send to you from the Lord, and this is the spirit of righteousness which issues from the Lord, and he will bear testimony concerning me, and you also, because ye were formerly with me, that ye may not doubt." But the Manhamannâ is the Syriac for Muhammad, and Baraqlitos the Greek.'[23]

The word 'Paraclete' occurs in John xvi. 7, and is appealed to by Moslem controversialists as denoting their prophet, who is said to be alluded to also in Isaiah xxi. 6, 7, where the rider on the ass is explained to be Jesus, and on the camel Muhammad,[24] and the passage stands according to their interpretation as follows: 'Arise, O watchman, and look what is to be seen. I said: I behold two of them riding; the one rides on an ass, the other on a camel;' but translations in European languages of that Hebrew passage are somewhat different. Arab Christians, of course, deny that the Moslem prophet is meant in these verses, but they believe that he is designated by the name of 'foolish shepherd' in Zechariah xi. 15, 16.

It is easy to point out verses in the Qurân in which our Scriptures are alluded to as necessary to be followed.[25] Christians are enjoined to observe the law and the gospel,[26] and their food is allowed to Moslems, who may also contract marriages with Christians.[27] From the following verse it appears that Muhammadans ought to be friends with Christians; there are, however, also others of a contrary purport: 'Dispute not against those who have received the Scriptures [*i.e.*, Christians] unless in the mildest way, except against the wicked among them, and say, We believe in the revelation which hath been sent down unto you; our God and your God is one, and unto Him we are resigned.'[28] From the above passages it is evident that

[23] Ebn Esahâq, 'Kitâb Siret Rasulullah', ed. Wustenfeld, p. 149.
[24] Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran, p. 40, Hamburg, 1839.
[25] For instance, ch. iv. 135 and 160
[26] Ch. v. 72.
[27] Ch. v. 7.
[28] Ch. xxix. 45.

those Muhammadans of India who, 'whilst they will eat food cooked by idolatrous Hindus, refuse to touch that cooked by either native or European Christians,'[29] are acting contrary to the precepts of the Qurân in these, as well as in various other matters, such as not to allow Christians to draw water from their public wells, etc.

The Qurân is, perhaps, the only book in the world which has, during more than a thousand years, been so carefully guarded that no changes whatever could creep into it,[30] although the order of the chapters is at present not that in which they were gradually revealed during the space of twenty-three years; it has been discussed by Suyuti in his *I'tqân* as well as by other writers; but Rodwell has published his translation of the Qurân according to that original chronological order. As the catechisms of the Christian, so also those of the Muhammadan sects embody in a brief, comprehensive way the tenets they profess to believe; hence the following extract from a catechism published in Constantinople will be of some interest:

'I believe in the books which have been delivered from heaven to the prophets. In this manner was the Qurân given to Muhammad, the Pentateuch to Moses, the Psalter to David, and the Gospel to Jesus. I believe in the prophets and the miracles which they have performed. Adam was the first prophet, and Muhammad was the last. I believe that for the space of fifty thousand years the righteous shall repose under the shadow of the terrestrial paradise; and the wicked shall be exposed naked to the burning rays of the sun. I believe in the bridge Sirat, which passes over the bottomless pit of hell. It is as fine as a hair, and as sharp as a sabre. All must pass over it, and the wicked shall be thrown off. I believe in the water-pools of paradise. Each of the prophets has in paradise a basin for his own use; the water is whiter than milk, and sweeter than honey. On the ridges of the pools are vessels

[29] 'Notes on Muhammadanism,' Rev. J P. Hughes, p. 101, *seq.*
[30] The number of words, and even of letters, in each chapter is on record.

to drink out of, and they are bordered with stars. I believe in heaven and hell. The inhabitants of the former know no want, and the Huris who attend them are never afflicted with sickness. The floor of paradise is musk, the stones are silver, and the cement gold. The damned are, on the contrary, tormented with fire, and by various and poisonous animals.'

E. REHATSEK.

LIFE OF MUHAMMAD THE APOSTLE.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MERCIFUL, THE CLEMENT.

THE superscription of this page of hopes and index of felicities, founded on the records of the virtuous of former, and the traditions of the nobles of later times, expresses the praise and laudation of GOD, of whose bounty and liberality the existence of all things is but one ray. *The Exuberantly Beneficent*, from whose treasury of goodness and favour all created beings have been invested with the robe of existence! *The Sage*, whose eternal science embraces the arcana of the gyrations of the spheres, as well as the inhabitants of the centre of the earth! *The Omnipotent*, the pen of whose might has by the juxtaposition of two letters[31] called forth all simple and composite essences from the womb of non-existence to the surface of evidence! *The Clement*, the revelation of whose blessed verse, 'We relate to thee the best of stories,'[32] promulged for the consolation of the cherubim of His courts, is a sign of abundant mercy! *The Munificent*, whose blessed verse, 'And those who fight for us,'[33] is with reference to the dignity of those who combat in religious wars, a specimen of His perfect liberality. *The Operator*, who has with the polishing instrument of grace brightened

[31] These two letters are *Kn*, but the word must be pronounced *Kun*, which is the imperative *Be!* by which the Almighty has created all things.

[32] Qurân, ch. XII. 3

[33] Injunctions to fight for the religion, and the rewards promised to those who do so, are often mentioned in the Qurân, *e.g.*, ch. IV. 97, VIII. 66, XLVII. 5, etc.

the scimitar of language, to occupy itself in the tournaments of rhetoricians with the abscission of the arguments of pretenders, and with the refutation of the deniers of the 'evident signs.'[34] *The Inventor*, who has exalted the ambling steed of the writing reed with a wonderful power of locomotion, by the aid of which man is enabled to turn his reins into the plains of eloquence, and to record the lucubrations of the mind. *The Mighty One*, whose love made a cobweb[35] more slender than a rose-leaf to appear in the sight of violent and hard-hearted enemies like the wall of Zulqarneen,[36] till the minds of those concealed in the cave of Mount Thûr were relieved of fear. *The Victorious*, who has by means of the bright swords of warriors, which are the indices of conquest and victory, in a short time thrown the heads of the stiff-necked among the Arabs and non-Arabs into misery and contempt, in order to send the smoke of grief of the opponents of the orthodox religion up to the zenith of the firmament. 'Allah doeth and ordereth all things as He willeth.'

The bouquets of the most excellent salutations, the odours of the praises whereof spread perfume, are here offered to the exalted genius, to the holy sepulchre, to the Eden-like mausoleum, to the great tree of the garden of prophecy, and to the rosebush of the park of love, the object of solicitude to the inhabitants of heaven and the purpose for which the dwellers on earth have been created,[37]

[34] The Arabic for the verses of the Qurân is *Ayat*, and means 'signs or wonders.'

[35] Muhammad went with Abu Bakr, from the house of the latter, to a cave in Mount Thûr, to the south-east of Mekkah, accompanied only by a servant of Abu Bakr, and by an idolater whom they had hired for a guide In this cave they lay hidden three days to avoid the search of their enemies, which they very narrowly escaped, and not without the assistance of more miracles than one, for some say the Qoraish were struck with blindness, so that they could not find the cave, others relate that after Muhammad and his companions had gone in two pigeons laid their eggs at the entrance and a spider covered the mouth of the cave with its web, which made them look no farther.

[36] Zulqarneen is said to have built a famous rampart against the irruptions of Gog and Magog. It was described in Part I, vol i., p 123, of this Series. See also Qurân, ch. xviii 95, on the manner of building it.

[37] According to the Hadith, or sacred tradition, God said to Muham-

to the most noble of places and incomparable sanctuary of the best of men, and intercessor on the day of resurrection!

Distich Ahmed[38] the prophet, the best of men,
Both worlds are subservient to him.

May Allah bless him, his companions, his kindred and friends, as long as the two luminaries shine, and night and day exist! Submissive, blessed, and numerous greetings to them!

But after [this preamble] the weakest of God's servants, Muhammad Khavend Shah—may Allah fulfil his desires, and make him happier in the next world than in this—says: Let it not remain hidden to those acquainted with the fountains of history, that although authors of former and of later times have written biographies of the prince of prophets, with explanations of the campaigns and deeds of the orthodox Khalifahs, the eye is nevertheless delighted on beholding a handsome and symmetrical form clothed in pure and various garments, moreover, the wish of the most exalted court[39] had gone forth—as intimated in the preface to this work—therefore the imperfect mind [of the author] has after the completion of the first volume undertaken to write a compendium of the life of the chosen lord [Muhammad], with a short record of the Emâms of guidance; on him and on them be the most perfect blessings! and as narratives about his [the prophet's] character are an exhilaration to those who are depressed in spirit, and as the records of his blooming miracles augment the pleasure of the gardens of hope of those who are in search of the means to obtain salvation, the author has contented himself to write this book in the ordinary language and current style most familiar to himself

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mad *Lao lâka mâ Khalikat ulaflaka*, which means, 'Were it not for thee, the spheres [i e, worlds] would not have been created'—An author of the eleventh century, Jacobus de Vitriaco, writes as follows in his history of Jerusalem 'Dicunt etiam quod antequam Deus a principio cœlum et terram creasset, nomen Machometi quasi in conspectu Dei consistebat, et nisi ipse Machometus futurus fuisset, nec cœlum, nec terra, nec infernus nec paradisus fuisset.' *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p 1054 Hanoviæ, 1611

[38] Another name for Muhammad.

[39] A'li Shir, the Amir of Hirat, who was the patron of the author and ordered him to compose this work

**Distich : He who is acquainted with the town
Knows where our merchandise is.**

By the encouragement of the patron, in whom all good qualities are concentrated, and in the name of the most exalted Amîr, who is endued with the virtues of Mercury and the nature of Jupiter, who is the manifester of the signs of Divine mercy and distinguished by royal favours, who walks in the paths of guidance and direction, performs the duties observed by good and religious men, exalts deeds of justice and beneficence, establishes the manifestations of clemency and kindness, is connected with royal majesty an ornament to the Suleimân-like dignity, protects literary men and warriors, the governor of the monarchy and of the religion, *Amir A'li Shir*—may Allah prolong the time of his justice till the day of the resurrection—and with reverence for the prophet, for his family and noble progeny I commence the promised work. He is my surety who accepts the vow and the intention!

PEDIGREE OF HIS LORDSHIP THE PROPHET, BY WAY OF SYNOPSIS AND DISTINCTION. THE BLESSING OF ALLAH BE UPON HIM AND UPON HIS FAMILY!

His name is Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, the son of Hâshem, the son of A'bd Munáf, the son of Qussai, the son of Kallab, the son of Laovi, the son of Ghâleb, the son of Qahar, the son of Malak, the son of Nasser, the son of Kanatah, the son of Madrekah, the son of Alyas, the son of Nasser, the son of A'dnân.

The genealogy of his exalted lordship the prince of existences—upon whom be the most excellent of blessings—is regular as far as A'dnân, but above the latter there are discrepancies. Nevertheless, all historians agree, despite a multitude of contradictions, in placing six of the inspired prophets—*i.e.*, Esma'il [Ishmael], Ebrâhim [Abraham], Hûd [Heber], Nûh [Noah], Edris [Enoch], and Sheth [Seth]—into the pedigree of the ancestors of his lordship, the seal of the prophets, as far back as Adam,

the father of mankind. The biographies of each of these, and of all the other prophets, have, according to their requirements, been given in the first volume, and now the musk-writing reed will, from a feeling of veneration, by way of abridgment, record the lives of some of the just-enumerated ancestors of his lordship. From Him comes protection and guidance!

Record of the Origin of the Family of Prophecy, and of the Chiefs of the Tribe of Generosity.

The beginning of the family of prophecy has already been recorded above by way of synopsis; the details, however, of their virtues and actions are as follows: The father (of blessed memory and glorious character) of Muhammad, the prophet of Allah—the most perfect greetings to him—was A'bdullah, distinguished and prominent among the youths of the Qoraish tribe by the perfection of his character, the nobility of his descent, the pleasantness and beauty of his demeanour, the generosity of his manners, the goodness of his deeds, the affability of his qualities, and the elegance of his behaviour. In pulchritude and amiability he was the Yusuf[40] of his time. The light of the star of Muhammad's prophetship shone from the beauty of his aspect, and the radiation of the sun of Ahmed's apostleship was evident from his heart-rejoicing countenance:

Distich: He who has the mark of the Friend's[41] love
Possesses it openly on the forehead.

At that time the rumour was current among the high-priests of the Jews and the soothsayers of Hejâz that the last of prophets was about to be begotten from the loins of this youth. The cause of the knowledge of the Jewish doctors with reference to A'bdullah consisted in their possession of the guiltless Yahia's [John the Baptist] blood-stained coat of white wool, and they had obtained evidence

[40] The Egyptian Joseph is the paragon of beauty among Moslems
[41] In this place the word 'Friend' means the Almighty.

from old books that when blood-drops fell from that coat A'bdullah, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and father of the seal of prophets—u.w.b.—would be born. It is related that when A'bdullah had reached the age of puberty the ladies of the Qoraish tribe, and the black-eyed belles of the Arabs, were so enticed by his beauty, and were so desirous of meeting him, that they gathered up the carpets of association between themselves and their husbands and refused to have any further intercourse with them.

Distich: Wash off the dust of affection for others from the tablet of thy mind;
For the condition of love is One heart and one friend!

They began to make a display [of their charms] in the theatre of beauty and tenderness, offering to him their very souls with exquisite presents united with attractiveness and coquetry. By Divine favour and the aid of the Most High, he, however, abstained from associating with the fairy-faced, Venus-shaped Hûris of sunlike aspect, and did not pollute the skirts of his innocence with the filth of concupiscence. When the time approached for that virgin-pearl [*i.e.*, Muhammad] to be nourished in the conch of nobility, and for that precious jewel to be formed in the mine of prosperity, by means of abundant showers from the clouds of grace, seventy Jews and bloodthirsty warriors of Syria entered into a covenant to proceed to Mekkah, and not to return until they had changed the day of the life of A'bdullah into the night of death. They set out on their journey with the above intention, travelled during the night for fear of publicity, and deflected from the road in the day, until they had in this manner arrived in the vicinity of Mekkah, and lay in wait for a good opportunity to execute their project. They suddenly met A'bdullah when he was hunting, and hastened in a crowd to attack him. Wahab, the son of A'bd Munâf, happened, however, likewise to be engaged in the chase in the same desert, and when he beheld this company advancing with drawn swords and bared arms towards A'bdullah, Arab impetuosity spurred him to ride with a number of servants who were with him to the spot

of the encounter and to repulse them. Others say that his intention was to make inquiries of them [and not to attack them], but that a multitude appeared, bearing no resemblance to men of this world, riding on piebald horses, and dashing from the top of the sky towards the centre of the earth, and that, having reached the ground, they attacked the ill-fated Jews and routed them.

Distich: The thorn possessing a lancet in the earth
The sooner breaks when stinging

Wahab Bin A'bd Munâf was astonished at this event, returned to his house, narrated to his wife what he had beheld, and sent her to wait on A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, in order to inform him that Wahab possessed a lady within the curtains of retirement, and desired to string that veiled one upon the thread of matrimony with his son A'bdullah. The mother of Aminah reported this message to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who agreed to the proposal as soon as the beauty and innocence of Aminah became known to him. The arrangements necessary for a wedding were then made by both parties, and at a propitious hour, when [the celestial planet] Venus obtained felicity from Jupiter [the terrestrial] Venus was united to the Luna-faced Jupiter. This marriage, however, became an occasion of grief in the noble city of Mekkah, because about two hundred sweet-spoken and honey-tongued ladies were by the ardour of love and the melancholy of their separation from A'bdullah thrown upon the couch of despair and died.

Distich: To those whose eyes and hearts were burnt, the flame of separation did
What the morning breeze did to the light of the lamp.

The remnant of the victims of love whom fate had respited deplored their separation from his roseate cheeks like the philomel with thousand melodies.

Distich. The killing of this wounded one by thy sword was either not decreed by fate
Or, if so, thy merciless heart cannot be blamed.

They preferred death to life, because they could not enjoy the latter. The story of Fattimah of Syria is a corro-

beration of what has just been narrated, and runs as follows: One of the governors of Palestine had a daughter, sitting within the innermost curtains of innocence, who vied in the world of amiability with the rising sun, and was in the zenith of beauty on a perfect equality with the full moon.

Distich: The brow an arch, the hair a lasso;
The stature, the gait, a tall cypress.

This girl was acquainted with the Divine books and heavenly pages, and also proficient in the art of soothsaying. She knew that the true time had arrived when the seal of the prophets would issue from the loins of one of the sons of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, endued with certain qualities; would become fixed in a pure womb; would, after the expiration of the proper time, proceed from the harem of seclusion into the court of prophecy, and would invite all nations to profess the equitable religion, and so follow the true road to salvation. The lady imagined that the breeze of the favour of the Most High might perhaps fructify the tree of her hopes with the blossoms of success, and accordingly she set out for Mekkah with garlands of jewels and exquisite clothes, as well as merchandise, horses, mules, and various other things. She took no account of the toils of the journey, but traversed the desert, hoping to meet her beloved:

Distich: From love for the Ka'bah I ran with such joy
That the thorns of the desert seemed silk to me!

When she had arrived in the vicinity of Mekkah, she pitched her mansion of permanency, and raised the vault of her court to the summit of the sun and moon. One day, when A'bdullah was returning from the chase, he happened to pass near the abode of Fattimah, who perceived the whole universe to be illuminated by the sunlight of his countenance, and was convinced that the expectations raised in her mind by the perusal of ancient books were now realized. She therefore hastily ran out from her palace to request him to grant her a brief interview, whereon A'bdullah, unable to resist the entreaties of the fairy-

like lady, illuminated her abode with his presence. After a suitable repast the Princess of Syria raised the veil of separation, revealed the intentions enshrined in the treasury of her mind on the salver of presentation, and requested A'bdullah to unite himself to her in wedlock; but he replied that although it would afford him the greatest pleasure to marry the princess, such an important matter could not be transacted without informing A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and to this Fattimah assented. When the day had elapsed A'bdullah left the court of Fattimah and went to his own house, where, by the decree of Divine providence, he had connection with Aminah, who became pregnant that night:

Distich. The water of life which Eskandar coveted
Became one day the soul of Khizer and Khizer was glad [42]

Early in the morning A'bdullah waited on his father and informed him of what he had heard from Fattimah, and was very anxious to marry her. After having obtained permission to do so, he went rejoicing to her mansion, and informed her of his father's consent. When, however, the beloved daughter of the Governor of Syria beheld the countenance of A'bdullah deprived of the light of prophecy, and perceived that his face, which had surpassed a fresh rose in amenity, was now without bloom, she fetched a deep sigh and said:

Distich: O beauteous circumstances! how thou art changed!
What thou wast before, thou art now no more!

After due inquiries she learnt that the decree of Providence had been fulfilled, and said to A'bdullah: 'God, who knows what is revealed and what is hidden, is my witness that I was impelled to make this inquiry, neither by the inspiration of Satan nor by carnal desire, but that I wished to unite myself with thee in order to participate in the felicity which the Almighty Giver has bestowed upon all related to the infant who will be born. Although

[42] His adventures with Moses are described in ch. xviii. of the Qurân. See also Part I, vol. I, of this Series, p. 371

I am returning to my country with the caravan of disappointment, I wish thee joy.'

Fattimah spent the remainder of her life in melancholy and regret; but stories like this have come down from Omm[43] Quttâl, the sister of Waraqah Bin Nowfel, who was one of the Christian doctors, and also from Fattimah herself; as, however, the record of similar events smacks of repetition, the reed of explanation has abstained from narrating them. Before the birth of Muhammad—u. w. b. —strange and wonderful things took place, which are contained in various chronicles.

It is said that Aminah was in the bosom of the family of her uncle Wahab, the son of A'bd Munâf, when A'bd-ul-Muttalleb sued for her hand in favour of his son A'bdullah, and that he at the same time courted Hâilah, the daughter of Wahab, for himself. Both weddings took place simultaneously, and afterwards Hâilah gave birth to Hamzah, and Aminah to the seal of prophets—u. w. b. According to an authentic tradition, A'bdullah went to Syria before the birth of the prophet of Allah; according to another he was on his return from it; and yet, according to another, he was on his way to it, whilst some say that he went to purchase dates, and that, when he reached Madinah, the destroyer of joys demolished the castle of his existence so that he died, and was buried on the premises called 'Dâr-un-nâilah.'

Distich. In this frail world, which is a house with two doors,
Lay no foundations; for the edifice of life passes away

He had attained the age of twenty-five, and according to others of thirty, years, but Allah knows best. He was the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who was born with gray hair; but some say he had only one white hair, and was therefore called 'the hoary'; after he had attained the age of discretion he was, on account of his great prayerfulness, called 'the hoary devotee.' Some state that A'bd-ul-Muttalleb became known as the servant of Muttalleb because his real

[43] *Omm* is literally 'mother,' but also equivalent to a respectful title, in the same way as we say *madam*

father Hâshem had in some journey arrived at Madinah, had there married Solmah, the daughter of O'mru, who was of the tribe Beni An-najâr, and had, after the birth of the 'hoary devotee,' gone to Syria, where he fell sick, and exclaimed in that land of exile:

Distich: I travelled and broke the ties of relationship;
Perhaps I shall see Solmah's beauty in my sleep.

When he was in the agony of death he said to his brother Muttalleb, the son of Munâf: 'Succour thy servant who is at Yathreb,' *i.e.*, Spread the wings of mercy over the servant whom thou possessest at Madinah. The general opinion on this subject is, that some time after the decease of Hâshem, a man of the Qoraish happened to pass through Madinah, where he beheld an infant playing with other children, shooting arrows, and exclaiming: 'I am the son of Hâshem!' When the said individual returned from Madinah to Mekkah, he said to Muttalleb in the sanctuary of the Ka'bah: 'I have seen thy brother's son engaged in shooting arrows, and have perceived the signs of distinction and intelligence shining on his forehead, but his poverty was so evident that I was really distressed thereby.' Muttalleb immediately swore an oath that he would go to Mekkah and take possession of his nephew ere he returned to his own house. The same man then said: 'Behold, my she camel is ready!' That very instant Muttalleb mounted the camel, took his brother's son with his mother and relatives behind himself on the camel, and brought them to Mekkah; as, however, the 'hoary devotee' was dressed in an unbecoming garment, everyone they met on the road asked who this boy was, and Muttalleb replied: 'He is my servant.'

Hemistich: The servant on thy camel was a freeman.

When Muttalleb arrived at home he dressed the 'hoary devotee' in a costly garment, introduced him to some of the Qoraish tribe, and gave them a short account of his journey to Madinah; but as he had on the road said to the people that the boy was his servant, he became known by

the name of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb [the servant or, more strictly, slave of Muttalleb].

A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was in his time famous for his excellent qualities—dignity of aspect, eloquence and pleasantness of speech, and for his good deeds. He was also respected by Arabian and foreign Sultâns. One of his acts was the deepening of the well Zamzam.

Record of the Causes of the Filling up of the Well Zamzam, and its being deepened in consequence of a Revelation of the Benign Sovereign, whose Magnificence be glorified!

When during the time of the prophecy of the Lord Ebrâhim the water of the Zamzam had made its appearance near the sanctuary during the full tide of the ocean of donation, and by the propitious advent of Esma'il, as chronicles relate in detail, some men of the tribe of Jorham, who were travelling in the vicinity of Mekkah, had alighted for the purpose of rest, they beheld a flock of birds soaring round and round, as if over the surface of some water. They said to each other: 'We have several times passed through this desert, but have never found water; has now, perhaps, a fountain burst forth around which the birds are thus circling?'

Distich: Wherever a sweet spring is found,
Men, birds and ants flock around.

After a little search and examination they discovered the water, and saw near it Hâjar [Hagar], the mother of the prophet Esma'il [Ishmael]. When the Arabs contemplated the fountain they rejoiced greatly, and after having conversed with Hâjar they knew that God, the gracious Bestower of benefits, had distinguished her son by thi favour. They requested her to allow them to settle in that region, and Hâjar, considering her loneliness, readily assented, but on the condition that they would not consider that water as their own property. Thus in a short time countless numbers of people settled near the spot, who

collected and heaped up so much soil near the fountain that it became a celebrated well.

It is related that Esma'il the prophet—u. w. b.—was brought up by, and remained connected with, the tribe of Jorham. Afterwards he helped Ebrâhim to build the Ka'bah, and as long as Esma'il lived he was the chief of Mekkah, headman of the tribe, and governor of the Ka'bah. When he was removed from this perishable mansion to the eternal world his son Thâbat became the chief and governor; when Thâbat departed to the abode of joy his children were not yet of age, therefore the office of judging and governing devolved on Mazâz, the son of A'mru and father of the wife of Esmai'l, under whose protection and kindness the progeny of Thâbat joyfully spent their lives. After the demise of Mazâz his sons reigned from generation to generation, with whom the descendants of Esma'il never contended for supremacy, despite of their numbers and power, for the sake of the gratitude of having been brought up together and to keep up the ties of consanguinity; but when the descendants of Esma'il had increased in such a manner that Mekkah could no longer hold them, they left the vicinity of the sanctuary and established themselves in various parts of Arabia.

After some time the tribe of Jorham and the descendants of Mazâz began to be tyrannical, iniquitous, and oppressive; they laid violent hands upon the offerings sent from distant and near places to the house of the Ka'bah, commenced to misappropriate the legacies bequeathed to the house of Allah, so that inhabitants and travellers suffered from their misdeeds. The grandees and princes of the tribes around Mekkah reproved them in vain, until at last the Bani Bakr Bin Wâil and the Kananah of the descendants of Esma'il despatched a company of valiant Arabs, with an ambassador, to the Jorhamites, bearing the following message: 'For the sake of peace, and considering our kinship, we had hitherto laid no claim to the supremacy due to us by right of inheritance; but as you have now swerved from the path of rectitude to that of crookedness, and are practising

oppression and unrighteousness reproved at all times and in all places, and aspire to the sole possession of the noble city of Mekkah, we enjoin you to depart from the country of Tahâmah and to establish yourselves wherever you like.' At first the tribe of Jorham refused to obey this summons, and resorted to arms, but perceiving their inability to cope with the Bani Bakr they sued for peace, and agreed, after long discussions, to abandon Mekkah. On that occasion their chief, A'mru, the son of Hâreth, was obliged to relinquish his command, but envy induced him to remove the black-stone from the corner of the Ka'bah, and to bury it with two golden fawns, which one of the kings of Persia had sent as a gift to the Ka'bah, and several stands of arms, in the well, which he then filled up to the level of the surrounding ground, so that it became unknown to the people, and the spring of the water Zamzam was hidden from the world like the water of life, and remained thus filled with black soil till the time of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb.

When the time was drawing near that the fountain of Muhammadan guidance—u. w. b.—should irrigate and fertilize the garden of the hopes of those who were wandering in the desert of error, A'bd-ul-Muttalleb heard in his sleep a voice saying: 'Dig the well Zamzam.' He asked what the word 'Zamzam' meant, but awoke that moment from his dream, and plunged into the sea of meditation to ascertain the signification. The next time, however, he received in his sleep the explanation that Zamzam was a water-pit, which had formerly originated by the blessed approach of Jebrâil, and had been the drinking-place of Esma'il with his followers. When A'bd-ul-Muttalleb awoke, he exclaimed: 'O God, explain to me this dream,' because the details of the locality were unknown to him. The third time, however, a messenger from the invisible world explained to him in a dream the signs of the place.

Hemistich: What a sublime dream, which is better than wakefulness!

In short, A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was informed that the site of the well Zamzam was near the two Qoraish idols, called Asâf

and Nâilah, and that on the morrow, when he perceived a raven of such and such a colour scraping the ground with his beak and discovering a nest of ants, he must begin to dig there. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb did as he had been commanded, saw the raven, and began to dig with his son, the only one he had as yet had at that time. He continued his work—despite the threats of the Qoraish, who said that they would not allow him to make a well near their idols—and swore on that day a vow that if, after succeeding in his enterprise, the Gracious Bestower of favours should bless him with more sons, he would, in imitation of his ancestor the Friend of the Merciful,[44] sacrifice one of them. After great efforts he opened the ancient well, and took possession of what the chief of the tribe of Jorham had buried therein. The Qoraish knew this, and insisted that he should divide with them what he had found, as they were all descendants of Esma'il, and he had merely renewed the well again; but A'bd-ul-Muttalleb replied that these were legacies made to the holy house. The Qoraish, however, coveted the property so much that this affair ultimately resulted in strife and in contention. At last both parties agreed to go to the priestess of Bin Sa'd Bin Hudâin, who resided in Syria, in order to obtain an equitable decision from her, because at that time all persons labouring under a difficulty submitted it to her penetrating judgment. Accordingly A'bd-ul-Muttalleb started with all the chiefs of the Qoraish in that direction, but in most of the stages they found neither water nor grass.

Distich. A soil more waterless than sulphur,
The air more heart-burning than hell.

In one of these stations A'bd-ul-Muttalleb and his followers were overpowered by hunger and thirst, but endured them according to the best of their ability. When they were, however, at the height of their distress, they asked some water from their opponents; these, on the other hand, returned a cold answer, and said that if they

[44] Epithet of the patriarch Abraham.

were to give away any water the same misfortune would befall them. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb despaired of life, and wished immediately to start; but when he impelled his camel he perceived that Divine mercy had under its hoof produced a sweet fountain surpassing in salubrity and pleasantness the water of life and the well Zamzam. Therefore he thanked the Almighty Bestower, and gave all the vessels to be filled with that water, each drop whereof was more precious tnan a pearl of O'mân. He also told his antagonists to pour out their water, which had become heated in the air, and to draw from this cold and fresh spring as much of it as they needed, so that they might continue their journey. When the Qoraish beheld with their own eyes this strange event they repented, and assured him that the Creator of water and earth and Supporter of the stars and heavens, who is a righteous Judge, had already decided their case. They said that henceforth no enmity should arise between them, requested him to return to his home, promised that they would always honour and obey him, besought him to pardon their error and offence, and said that he was worthy of keeping possession of whatever he had discovered [in the well Zamzam].

Hemistich: God bestows prosperity on no one by mistake.

Accordingly A'bd-ul-Muttalleb returned from that journey to his country, after having obtained his desires.

Distich I went like the pilgrims to the Ka'bah,
I returned like Ahmed from the *ascension*.[46]

His dignity and station became higher than in former times, and he was again installed as the governor and ruler of Mekkah. Some say that at the discovery of the well Zamzam, the golden fawns and weapons concealed therein by A'mru Bin Hâreth, the Jorhamite, fell into the possession of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb; but when the Qoraish had taken some, A'bd-ul-Muttalleb reproached them with having not

[46] The above is also the title of ch. xvii. of the Qurân, and usually translated 'The night journey,' because Muhammad went to heaven during the night.

only not aided, but even resisted, him in digging the well, and that in order to settle this affair it would be necessary to resort to the casting of lots, according to the usual custom. They agreed to this proposal, whereon the property was divided into two shares, and the fawns became a gift to the Ka'bah, but the weapons fell to the lot of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, so that the Qoraish reaped only loss and disappointment. For the sake of ornament A'bd-ul-Muttalleb suspended the fawns, such as they were, from the door of the Ka'bah, and they were named 'the antelopes of the Ka'bah'; he sold the arms and spent the proceeds in the expenses of his household. The fawns remained suspended until one night Abu Lahab happened to take them both down, and to sell them to merchants, as will be narrated further on.

When the number of the sons of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb began to exceed units and amounted to ten, he wished to fulfil his vow by sacrificing one of them, as was at that time customary among the Arabs. He consulted his sons, and the lot fell on the name of A'bdullah, whom he informed of the result, and the youth exclaimed:

Distich If life be acceptable to one beloved like thee,
How could anyone retain life who has life?

The Bani Makhzum, however, who were relatives of A'bdullah, on the maternal side, dissuaded A'bd-ul-Muttalleb from taking such a step; therefore he laid the details of this matter before the penetrating mind of a priestess of the name of Shujaa', who had no peer nor equal in the craft of soothsaying, and she asked him what the ransom of one man was in his tribe? He replied that it amounted to ten camels; thereon she ordered him to throw lots between ten camels and his son, and that in case the lot fell upon the camels he was to sacrifice them, but if not he must increase their number.

Hemistich. Until heaven itself decides the case.

A'bd-ul-Muttalleb acted as he was bid; the lot, however, fell again on A'bdullah, and continued in this way till the

number of camels had reached one hundred, when it struck them, and A'bdullah, being saved from that peril, the camels were sent to graze in the meadows of eternity. Among other coincidences, it may here be observed that, according to the law of Ahmed the elect—u w. b.—the ransom of a freeman depends upon lots:

Hemistich When the star passed away that omen was verified.

Record of the Meeting of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb with Abrahah Bin Us-subbâh when he was proceeding to Mekkah to destroy the House of the Ka'bah.

When Abrahah had begun to reign in the country of Yaman, he perceived how fond the people were of visiting the house of Allah; therefore he conceived during the season of the pilgrimage an idea in his mind, which was more slender than the texture of a cobweb, namely to build a church instead of the Ka'bah, so that no one should, after that, visit and circumambulate the latter. He therefore assembled the architects of his dominions, and by his orders they built a church in the town of Sa'nâ, which was so elegant and adorned that the eyes of the firmament had seldom beheld an edifice like it; the ceiling and walls, which rivalled the vault of the sky in altitude, also contained wonderful statues and paintings, but that heedless individual knew not that the Creator of all forms was unwilling that vile loam should rub its head against heaven. When the edifice was completed he sent an embassy to the Najashi, the king of the Abyssinians—because at that time the governors of the country of Yaman were subject to the kings of Abyssinia, who were called Najashi, in the same manner as the kings of Rûm are named Qaissar, of Hind Râi, and of China Khâqân—with the following message: 'May the shadow of your prosperity be outspread in the august name of your majesty until the world is destroyed. I have erected a house and built a church, so as to put an end to the circumambulation of the Ka'bah by pilgrims and visitors. It is my hope that

this edifice will subsist for all time and eternity as a monument of your majesty's happy reign.' The Najashi approved of this scheme, and Abrahah invited the people to visit the church, which went by the name of Qalis.[46] Crowds of worshippers arrived from the surrounding country, some of whom came to Sa'nâ for the purpose of approaching the Almighty, and others to behold the spectacle or to enjoy themselves in the gilded house. When this news became known in the Arab country, Nufil, of the tribe Kananah, felt himself called upon to go to Sa'nâ, where he deceived the guardians of the church under the pretence that he had made a vow to spend therein one night in prayer. The watchmen locked him in, and departed to their homes, but as Nufil had previously taken a purgative, he defiled the building as much as he possibly could, and when the door was opened in the morning he fled like an arrow shot from a bow, taking refuge in his own country. When Abrahah heard of what had taken place, he was incensed with wrath, said that this is but one consequence of the disposition of the Arabs, and swore by the mansion of the Giver, by the bright day, and by the azure night, that he would go to Mekkah and destroy the house of the Ka'bah. After he had determined to undertake this campaign, he called out his army, sent a messenger to the Najashi, informed the king of his intention, and asked him to send him the white elephant who was as large as a mountain, and was surnamed Mahmûd [laudable] because whatever army he accompanied gained the victory. He was extremely white and tall, his aspect was so dazzling to the sight that immediate confusion overwhelmed the beholder so that he would not recover himself; moreover, the stature of this elephant was such that, looking straight, the eye would not see higher than his knee. The Najashi complied with the request of Abrahah and sent Mahmûd with several other mountain-like elephants, who looked like demons, so that if one of them had, in his anger, struck the heart of the

[46] Corrupted from 'ecclesia.'

planet Mars with his trunk, he would have moved the whole earth. Abrahah then marched with a valiant army of soldiers and elephants from the country of Yaman to Mekkah. Zu Yaqar, who was one of the princes of the tribe of Hemiâr, being informed of this unhallowed intention, started with a large army, and attacked him, but was defeated, made captive, and condemned to death, but pardoned on condition of submission, and obliged to wear heavy fetters on his neck. When Abrahah entered the country of Hejâz, his soldiers plundered everybody and took possession of the cattle, among which were also two hundred camels belonging to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb. Some Arab tribes, such as the Qoraish and the Hozail, wished to offer resistance, but when they perceived their inability to hit the target of their intention, they threw aside the shield of their opposition. On that occasion Abrahah despatched Hanattah, the Hemiarite, to the Qoraish with the message that he did not come to the country to shed blood and wage war, but to destroy the house of the Ka'bah; in case, however, they should be inclined for fighting, he likewise possessed the implements for it. He also enjoined Hanattah to bring with him the princes of the Qoraish, in case they should be desirous for peace. When Hanattah arrived in Mekkah, he delivered the message of Abrahah, and having found the Qoraish to be peaceably disposed he brought A'bd-ul-Muttalleb to the camp, who hastened to meet Zu Yaqar on account of the friendship that had subsisted between them, and began to make inquiries about his own affairs. Zu Yaqar replied that he had no access to the king, but was acquainted with one of the courtiers named Anis, and that, if convenient, he would communicate to him some of the laudable qualities of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and thus bring him to the notice of the king. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb agreed, and in this manner he was introduced to the king. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was a man of tall stature, handsome aspect, and commanding appearance; when Abrahah beheld him he perceived

the signs of glory and of praise shining on his forehead,[47] descended from the throne, betook himself to the carpet, and made A'bd-ul-Muttalleb sit by his side; but being unacquainted with each other's language, the conversation was carried on by means of an interpreter, and Abrahah became so pleased with A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, that he determined, within himself, to spare the house of the Ka'bah if the latter were to intercede for it, and to return again from that very stage of his march. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb pleaded, however, for the recovery of his camels which the soldiers had plundered, and Abrahah was thereby so disconcerted that he lost the reins of self-possession from his hands and reproached A'bd-ul-Muttalleb in the following words: 'Thou art a prince and a governor among the Qoraish, whose eminence chiefly consists in the possession of the house of the Ka'bah, which I have come to demolish; but thou hast not spoken one word referring thereto, and hast, from the evil disposition of thy heart, only vented thy grief for the loss of some camels, the price of which is of no great weight in the scales of common-sense; therefore I consider such a proceeding very strange, and foreign to thy dignity.' A'bd-ul-Muttalleb replied: 'That house belongs to the omnipotent and omniscient Lord, who is able to keep it and to guard it from the injuries of enemies, and as I am only the lord of camels, I must speak about them.' Hereon Abrahah ordered the camels to be restored to him, with which A'bd-ul-Muttalleb returned, and exhorted the inhabitants of the holy city either to disperse or to entrench themselves in the mountains. He himself entered the Ka'bah and took refuge with the Lord of glory against the evil intentions of the inimical king, when all of a sudden his eyes alighted on a flock of Ababil birds soaring over the heads of the companions of the elephant, which sight comforted and rejoiced him greatly; and after finishing his prayers he

[47] Having been the grandfather of Muhammad, the signs of the prophetic light were already manifested on his forehead in a circular form, as mentioned farther on.

went to Mount Harra, where he met the chiefs of the Qoraish tribe.

Record of the Destruction of the Companions of the Elephant by stoning from the Ababil Birds.[48]

One morning, when the gold-winged bird of the sun rose on the eastern horizon, proceeding towards the meridian regions, and the elephant of destiny had stretched forth the trunk of vengeance for the purpose of uprooting the vital tree of the enemies, Abrahah Bin Us-sabbâh ordered the elephants to be decorated with variegated trappings, made Mahmûd the leader of all the others, placed him in the vanguard, and countless warriors began to move like the tempestuous sea. When the elephant Mahmûd, of praiseworthy appearance, had arrived in the vicinity of the sacred house, he deflected from the line of the rook,[49] began to march in a crooked way, and though the officers had, by order of the king and queen, started the Pion of admonition, impelling him to advance, he nevertheless continued to leap backwards like the knight on a chess-board. This game mated the king with his army, so that they remained astounded, stationary in their places. At this stage of events a Divine army made its appearance in the shape of a flock of Ababil birds, each carrying a stone in his beak, and two in his claws; each stone, being by the pen of Omnipotence marked with the name of one of the antagonists, was projected like rain in such a manner that on striking a trooper it issued again from the abdomen of his quadruped, and when it struck a foot-soldier it came forth from his anus, so that by the wrath of the Omnipotent the whole army and all the cattle were destroyed. Mahmûd alone escaped this fate, and though at that time also Abrahah was spared, a few days aft

[48] See Qurân, ch. cv. These birds are by some European authors supposed to have been owls or bustards, and by others to have resembled swallows. It is now supposed that this army was destroyed by small-pox. See note to ch. cv. in Rodwell's Qurân.

[49] Meaning from the straight line in which alone the rook moves in chess play.

wards the bird of his soul was clenched by the talons of the eagle of death. The flight of Abrahah took place as follows: He left the camp on that dreadful day, and sped on the wings of celerity alone towards Abyssinia; one of the birds, however, having invested itself with the collar of attendance upon him, pursued the wretch, and Abrahah was seized on the road by a great malady, wherein the hand of fate—according to the blessed verse, 'The hand of Allah is above their hands'—so overpowered him that the joints of all his fingers separated, and he arrived neither alive nor dead in Abyssinia, where he reported to the Najashi the story of the birds, whereat the king was greatly astonished and perplexed. Meanwhile, the bird which had accompanied Abrahah struck him with a stone, whereon he also departed to the place where his companions had gone to.

It is related that when this dreadful catastrophe overtook the companions of the elephant,[50] the Qoraish looked from the top of Mount Harra towards that army, but were unable to see it move, wherefore they desired to go in that direction. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who had from the beginning of this contest been circumspect about its end, with a view to his own interest, endeavoured to quiet the Qoraish by telling them that possibly the halting of the enemies might be only a stratagem, the consequences whereof would become injurious, and that, as he was acquainted with Abrahah, it would be proper for him to go there and to see what had happened. The Qoraish approved of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb's opinion, who went alone to the camp and buried all the valuables in a spot concealed from the view of strangers.

Hemistich: Riches are those which fall easily into your lap.

When he had finished this business he informed the Qoraish of what had taken place, whereon all of them fell upon the corpses and divided the remnant of the spoils among themselves; and the destruction of the companions

[50] A.D. 570.

of the elephant became an occasion of the increase of property, riches, and dignity to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb.

Distich : Hundred thousand souls and hearts were spoilt
Till Muhammad ascended one night to heaven.[51]

RECORD OF THE GOING OF THE QORAISH PRINCES TO THE CASTLE OF A'MDÂN, AND SAIF ZU YAZAN'S GIVING THE GLAD TIDINGS TO A'BD-UL-MUTTALLEB THAT THE PROPHET OF THE LATTER TIMES—U. W. B.—WOULD APPEAR.

Zu Yazan was of the dynasty of the kings of Hemiar and Yaman, respected and esteemed by the people on account of the nobility of his descent. At that time he was, moreover, the husband of a lady who had no equal in beauty, but was compelled by Abrahah, who had heard about her and coveted her, to surrender her to him. On account of this tyrannic act Zu Yazan laid his complaint before the court of the Qaissar, and having returned from it disappointed, he placed it before Naushirvân, the refuge of justice, where he also met with procrastination on account of the distance of the two kingdoms and the difference of the two religions, it being a long way from Madâin to the capital of Abyssinia; and the difference between Christianity, the yoke whereof Zu Yazan bore on his neck, and between ignolatry, which Naushirvân professed, was even greater. After Zu Yazan had for some time sojourned at Madâin he folded up the carpet of life, and Saif, the son of Zu Yazan, had—during the reign of Masrûq, the son of Abrahah, after the death of the latter—taken refuge with Naushirvân, and had been enrolled amongst his servants, until at last that just king took pity upon him, and liberating six hundred valiant and strong men who had for various crimes been confined in prison, sent them, under the leadership of a decrepit old man of the name of Hormuzd, under the shadow of the banners of Saif, the son of Zu Yazan, by way of the sea, which was the nearest, to Abyssinia and to

[51] See Qurân, ch. xvii.

Yaman. The reason why Naushirvân sent prisoners was that in case they should meet with disasters, either by sea or in Abyssinia, there would be no cause for sorrow and repentance. Accordingly, they embarked in six ships, and arrived after a prosperous voyage in Abyssinia, where Hormuzd and Saif pitched their tents in a camp which they had selected for the purpose of resting a few days; and on that occasion the adherents of Saif in the country joined him. Their antagonists, however, reported to Masrûq, the son of Abrahah, what the aim of the invaders was; therefore he sent an envoy to Hormuzd with the following message: 'This man Saif has deceived you and your king. If you knew how large my army is you would offer your best excuses. I feel ashamed to wage war against you, and if you wish to return I shall furnish you with provisions, but if you remain in this country you will be more honoured than you ever were in Persia.' When Hormuzd heard these words he asked, and afterwards obtained, one month's truce, during which time many Hemiarites joined Saif, and after the expiration of it hostilities began by Masrûq's despatching his own son with ten thousand cavalry against the enemy, to whom Hormuzd likewise opposed his own son with an equal number of horsemen. When the two armies met the Persians rained a shower of arrows upon the Abyssinians, put them to flight, and Masrûq's son was killed. But the son of Hormuzd, who pursued them, also lost his life. The next day grief for his son impelled Masrûq with one hundred thousand cavalry to attack Hormuzd, who, having staked his life by burning his ships, and thus cutting off his own retreat, hastened to meet his antagonist with five thousand Hemiarites and six hundred Persians. Hormuzd asked for a bandage and tied it over his brows, because his hair was so long that it overshadowed his eyes; and his sight being also weak, he desired Masrûq to be pointed out to him; thereon he obtained the information that Masrûq was mounted on an elephant, and wore a crown with a ruby just over the forehead. When Hormuzd sighted the

brilliancy of the ruby from a distance he said: 'The elephant is a great vehicle; now he must be attacked.' After a short time Masrûq alighted from the elephant and mounted a horse, of which circumstance the bystanders informed him, and he replied: 'The horse is a noble vehicle. It is necessary to wait a little.' Then Masrûq alighted from the horse and bestrode a mule, whereon Hormuzd said: 'A mule is the progeny of an ass, but an ass is the vehicle of misery and scorn. Give me the bow immediately, for now is the propitious time.' He took the bow into his hand, but ordered its hilt to be kept aiming at the ruby on the crown of Masrûq, and continued: 'When, after shooting the arrow, you perceive the Abyssinians moving and gathering round their king, you may be sure that the arrow has taken effect; but if not, you must quickly give me another.' In short:

Distich : When his finger touched the dart
It shot forth from the bow.

The eagle of fate, represented by the four-feathered arrow, flew forth from the nest of the bow, reached its aim, and stuck fast in the proud head of the King of Abyssinia.

Distich : Each arrow-glance of thy quiver eye had an aim
Which struck the bosom as thy heart desired.

Masrûq alighted from the mule, and the Abyssinian army surrounded him. When Saif Zu Yazan and Hormuzd perceived what had taken place, they unsheathed the scimitar of revenge, attacked and put to flight the hosts of Abyssinia, whose dead were innumerable. Zu Yazan made his triumphal entry in S'anâ, and erected the throne of his dominion in the castle of A'mdân, a building the like of which had never before existed on earth. The simple and the gentle from near and far hastened to offer their congratulations at the court of that powerful king. Among the visitors were also the princes of the Qoraish tribe, such as A'bd-ul-Muttalleb Bin Hâshem, Wahab Bin A'bd Munâf, Amanah Bin A'bd-ush-Shams, Tolhah Bin

Khovilad, A'bdullah Bin Juda'an, with others who had left their country, and had come to S'anâ for the purpose of waiting upon the king. After a chamberlain had obtained an audience for them, they, with other chieftains from various places, laid the hands of courtesy on their bosoms and were admitted. After the Qoraish had offered their gifts of homage, A'bd-ul-Muttalleb requested permission to speak, and the king replied that there was no objection provided he was skilled in using language suitable to a royal court. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb then uttered congratulations at the accession of the king in suitable terms, and introduced his companions in such a manner that he was applauded by all:

Quatrain Though no one has introduced me to thee
To say what my station and dignity are,
My speech itself is a sign of excellence,
Like the breeze that wafts from a rose-grove

After the king had ascertained the high personal character of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, he made inquiries about his family, which were replied to. Then Saif continued his royal favours, saying: 'Thou art the son of my mother's sister, who likewise belongs to the noblest of the tribe of the Bani-an-najâr,' and having expressed his joy and pleasure at their visit, he sent them to the mansion of hospitality, where they found entertainment during a whole month, without, however, being allowed either to meet him or to depart. When the just-mentioned time had expired he invited A'bd-ul-Muttalleb to his private apartments, where he treated him very courteously, and after the usual preliminaries addressed him as follows: 'The figures of affairs now hidden, and events concealed, but which are about to happen, have appeared on the speculum of my mind, and I am unwilling to reveal them to strangers, but as you are a treasury of secret wisdom, a depository of excellent qualities, and a manifest evidence of the approach of the realization of the promised event, even the most scrupulous caution does not persuade me to conceal this matter from you:

**Distich : In this bosom is a secret which I cannot reveal,
Which I cannot reveal, and cannot conceal.**

I inform only very wise and discriminating persons of this secret, therefore you must communicate it neither to friend nor foe, nor even trust your own shadow as a confidant in this matter.' Although the king had enjoined such secrecy, he informed him that soon an object would be transferred from the invisible to the visible world, which will become the cause of honour and glory to mortals in this, and of exaltation to the dead in the next world. 'By their closer connection with that precious gift, the inhabitants of Mekkah, but more especially thy noble family, will become distinguished above all the other inhabitants of the world.' After this, A'bd-ul-Muttalleb asked for explanations and details concerning the time when the promised event would take place, and the king replied: 'When in the honoured sanctuary and noble city of Mekkah a merciful guest who has a mole between his shoulders makes his appearance, arriving from the invisible in the visible world, genii and men will be inclined to follow him, and by the advent of that blessed personage thou wilt be ennobled to the top of the firmament.' A'bd-ul-Muttalleb said: 'Praise and thanks be to Allah, because I am returning to my native country from the treasury of the exalted king, with a precious robe and costly diadem, which will be an object of pride to me and to my descendants; and if awe and respect for your majesty were not restraining me I would make such inquiries on this subject that no kind of doubt or suspicion would remain in my mind.' The king continued: 'The time has arrived when a person—endowed with the dignity of Nûh [Noah], with the nature of the Friend,[52] with the intrepidity of Mûsa [Moses], and with the breath of I'sa[53] [Jesus]—of the name of Muhammad will be, and is perhaps already born. One sign is, that in his infancy he will be separated from his parents, and will be taken care of by his grandfather and

[52] Abraham, the friend of Allah.
[53] He resuscitated the dead by his breath.

uncle. By the special favour of the Lord he will be exalted to the dignity, and will be invested with the precious robe of prophecy. Although himself unable to write, he will draw the pen of abrogation across the injunctions of previous pages of former books, and will invite the inhabitants of the world to abandon Satan and to worship Allah. He will vanquish the nations opposing him, destroy idols, demolish temples, and will quench the ardour of the ignolaters with the refulgent scimitars of his adherents, and despite his being a favourite of the Almighty, he will not cease for a single moment to worship Him.' A'bd-ul-Muttalleb then said: 'Trusting in your royal mercy, I hope your majesty's pearl-dropping words will still more plainly reveal this matter to me.' Saif Zu Yazan replied: 'By the Lord of glory and possessor of the Ka'bah! I have, for a certainty, learnt that thou wilt be his grandfather, and what I have told thee is nothing but the pure truth, which I have ascertained from inspired books and heavenly chronicles, not intelligible to ordinary intellects.' Hereon A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, overwhelmed with feelings of humility, placed his forehead of submission and awe upon the ground, offering praises and thanksgivings. The king continued: 'Cease thy prostrations, because thy having received this communication is a sign that thou art worthy thereof.' A'bd-ul-Muttalleb then raised his head and said: 'I had a son, A'bdullah by name, who was very intelligent, acute, humane and brave. He was the most beloved of my children, and to establish him in life I married him to Aminah, the daughter of Wahab Bin A'bd Munâf. She was decorated with the ornaments of beauty and modesty, but when she became pregnant, A'bdullah, the apple of my eye and object of my existence, folded up the carpet of life in the exuberance of youth and vigour of manhood, and, removing it to the eternal world, abandoned me to the pangs of sorrow, grief, and disappointment. After this dreadful event, Aminah gave birth to an infant endued with laudable qualities and with the signs mentioned by your majesty, so we called him Muhammad

[laudable], to make his qualities agree with his name. Now he has left the boundaries of infancy and has entered the stage of boyhood, but individuals of intelligence and foresight have observed signs of nobility and of blessedness on his august person, and in his company I feel as if A'bdullah were still living:

Distich : He is living, in whose family
People remain to recollect him.

When A'bd-ul-Muttalleb had brought his narrative thus far, Saif Zu Yazan advised him to keep this event [of the prophet's birth] secret from the Jews, because they would become his enemies, as also from his own people, for fear of exciting their jealousy, and informed him that as soon as Muhammad—u. w. b.—receives his mission the Qoraish will become his foes, will contend with him, and will, for the purpose of removing him, concoct stratagems and raise troubles, wherefore his lordship will be compelled to leave Mekkah to roam in the desert of exile, and to meet the inhabitants of Madinah, who will become his adherents, where also the same faith will be established. He further continued: 'Could I trust this perishable life, I would get ready an army and hasten to Yathreb[54] to be in waiting for his advent, and to promote the victory of the true religion; but as that time is yet distant, I shall most probably not survive to witness the blessed commencement and joyful termination of his mission:

Distich . There is an angel in the azure sky
Who draws a curtain before a lover's eye

After the king had thus announced the glad tidings of the advent of the lord of the immaculate family, and had completed his directions to keep them secret, he called for all the Qoraish princes, who were ten in number, and presented each one of them with ten slave-boys and ten girls, ten pieces of striped cloth, five Ratls[55] of gold, ten Ratls of silver, a vase full of amber, and with one hundred camels

[54] Ancient name of Madinah.
[55] One *Ratl* is considered to be a pound of 12 ounces, and weight of 128½ drams.

He presented A'bd-ul-Muttalleb with the whole amount of what he had given to each of them singly, and requested him to come again next year to the capital S'anâ for the purpose of renewing their amity. Then he bade a friendly farewell to all of them, and sent them back to the honoured city of Mekkah; and as Divine providence would have it, during that very same year the bird of this excellent king was captured, in the hunting park of life, by the fowler of death. Such details are, however, foreign to the scope of this work. Some maintain that death would not permit A'bd-ul-Muttalleb again to go and to visit the king; after all, however, the words of the latter had confirmed the belief of the former in the interpretation of the dream which he had dreamt before the birth of the prophet (u. w. b.).

Record of the Dream of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, with a Suitable Preface.

As in these pages verified dreams are occasionally described, perhaps the intelligent reader will not be displeased to meet with a definition of dreaming, and of its various species. Let it not remain hidden to the minds of the wakeful and vigilant that sleep is the state of the body during which the external senses cease to perceive sensuous manifestations, because the animal spirit has withdrawn itself to the interior. If in this state the soul receives an impression, it is called a dream, which may be either true or false. A true dream takes place when the human soul is liberated from sensuous occupations, and becomes, on account of its conformity with superior essences, and its connection with the upper entities, acquainted with some images to which it was predestined from the beginning. Ṣûfis and philosophers are of opinion that all the images of the nether world are existing in the celestial souls, and that human fancy may become impressed with all kinds of images. When, however, the reasoning faculty is strong, and the imaginative weak, it can neither dispose of nor alter the noble and sublime arcana revealed to it during

sleep, but surrenders them as it received them to the retentive faculty, so that on awakening the sleeper finds the idea which had from the celestial reverted to the human soul impressed on his imagination. Such a dream is true, and needs no interpretation. When, on the contrary, the imagination is strong, it operates on the impressions received from the celestial soul, and having clothed them in appropriate garments, abandons them to the memory. Such a dream is true, but stands in need of an interpretation.

From these preliminary remarks it appears that a true dream is, like a dream in general, also divided into two species.

It is not unknown to the intelligent that true visions fall to the lot of such persons only as are enriched by the garlands of religion and law, and that when the spirit is weak, but the imagination strong, the latter always predominates by virtue of its supremacy over the former during the assimilations, resemblances, connections, and distribution of ideas which are taking place in dreams, and thereby prevents it from taking cognizance of the intellectual world.

Distich : The bad humour which over a temper presides,
Leaves it not. Only with death it subsides.

As the function of the imagination consists in always mixing up everything, it commingles details with each other, but occasionally separates connected portions, and in this manner produces innumerable vain and absurd images. Sometimes it happens that one of the four humours predominates in the body, and that in conformity with this state the imagination furnishes appropriate images to the spirit. Thus, for instance, when blood prevails in the body, the image—which the intellect has, by the aid of the imagination, found in a state of wakefulness—having become impressed upon the corresponding internal senses, will manifest itself in sleep. From what has just been said, it appears that false dreams are of three kinds.

Among the number of true dreams on record, that of

A'bd-ul-Muttalleb is one, which took place as follows: One day, when he was asleep, the pen of fate wrote a wonderful line on the tablet of his mind, and the speculum of his intellect received a strange impression. Therefore he hastened with a palpitating heart to a witch, who had no equal in the art of interpreting dreams. When she saw him arrive with fear and trembling she asked about the cause, and he informed her as follows: 'In my sleep I beheld a white chain with four ends issuing from my loins. One end touched the sky, the other the earth, the third the east, and the fourth the west. I looked with amazement at this spectacle, when all of a sudden the chain was transmuted into a green and fresh tree, loaded with all the fruits existing in the vegetable kingdom. At the foot of the tree stood two old men of serene and dignified aspect. I asked them about their names and positions, whereon one of them said "I am called Nûh" [Noah]; the other said. "My name is Ebrâhim [Abraham] the friend." Then they continued: "O A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, this tree of noble origin has come down to thee from thy ancestors and forefathers. has been continued by thee, and will from century to century, and from generation to generation, be propagated according to covenant and alliance."' The witch replied: 'If it be true what thou hast narrated, in thy family a man will be born, the cloak of obedience and ear-ring of submission to whom will be assured by the dwellers in the tabernacles of heaven and in the regions of the earth. The chain means the strengthening of the laws of religion and the multitude of auxiliaries; the links thereof constitute the establishment and confirmation of the dignity of that blessed individual, and whoever opposes him will, like the people of Nûh, fall into the tempest of misery and vortex of annihilation. That happy man will make such efforts, and so revive the ordinances of the religion of Ebrâhim, that as long as the world endures the foundations of the castle of his prophecy and Emâmship will not experience the inroads of decay.'

Record of some of the Qualities by which A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was distinguished in the Family of A'bd Munâf.

It is related that during the time of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb the victory of the Qoraish over any tribe with whom they happened to be at war must be attributed to the fact that the light of prophecy manifested itself on his countenance in the circular form, which is the most perfect of figures.[50] No one of the inhabitants of Mekkah doubted of its efficacy, and whenever the dwellers in the mother of cities were afflicted with any calamity they lifted their hands in prayer, and constituted him their intercessor with the Almighty; in consequence whereof their difficulties were mitigated. In confirmation of this fact it may be adduced that once famine and dearth had risen to such a height as to make the people—who were starving for want of bread—forget to covet paradise:

Distich : Dearth was so great in Damascus
That lovers forgot their love.

The princes of the Qoraish and the chiefs of the Arabs went with A'bd-ul-Muttalleb to the mountain, elected him their mediator, submissively and humbly prayed to the bountiful Giver to send them a gift [of rain], which is by itself a cause of life to the inhabitants of the world. The request of that company was most quickly responded to, so that the prairies of hope of the inhabitants of the sanctuary were gladdened and refreshed with so much rain as to revive the meadows of their aspirations with verdure and beauty. These joyful events, however, took place by the blessing of the proximity of the advent of the prince of inspired messengers and seal of prophets—u. w. b. One of the consequences of Divine favour towards A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was his being gladdened by the possession of ten sons and six daughters. The first of his sons was Hâreth, who helped him to excavate the well Zamzam. Hâreth begat Abu Sofiân, Moghairah and Naufil, the first of whom

[50] See footnote 47.

became a Moslem when Mekkah was conquered, and with reference to him the prince of the world [Muhammad] said: 'Abu Sofiân will be the president of those who dwell in paradise'; and if it pleaseth Allah the Most High, his affairs and circumstances will be narrated; he, however, is not the Abu Sofiân who was the father of Moa'viah. The second son was Abu Lahab, also called Abu O'tbah, and was one of the thieves who stole the fawns of the Ka'bah. The occasion for this theft was that one night Abu Lahab was drinking wine with a party of the Qoraish, and dancing girls were singing, till their joy was complete; but as they knew of no money more ready than the two little golden fawns brought by A'bd-ul-Muttalleb from the well Zamzam, they stole and sold them. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb happened to pass near the house where the carousal was taking place, and to overhear the girls singing that they had performed the culpable act. He then informed the Qoraish, who took the whole company prisoners, and punished each individual of it according to his deserts. Abu Lahab, or Abu O'tbah, was married to Omm Jamil, the daughter of Harb, the sister of Abu Sofian and the aunt of Moa'viah, to whom the verse 'and his wife also bearing wood'[57] alludes. The third was A'bd, who on account of his good qualities was surnamed Hajab [modesty]; he left no progeny. The fourth was Qawam, the son of one mother with Hamzah the prince of martyrs, besides this, however, nothing is known of the circumstances of Qawam. The fifth, Zurâr, was an Arab poet; his epithet is Abu Taher, and he left no posterity. Zobeir, the sixth son, was likewise one of the Arab poets. The seventh was Abu Taleb, who had six children; four sons, *i.e.*, A'li, O'qail, Ja'far, and Tâleb, and two daughters, namely, Omm Hani and Hâmi, whose mother was Fâttimah, daughter of the son of Asad, son of Hâshem; she was one of the believing refugee [muhajer] women. The affairs, however, of Abu Tâleb will be narrated in these pages in connection with those of his lordship the best of creatures, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High. The eighth

[57] See Qurân, ch. cxi., which consists only of a few lines.

son, A'bdullah, was the most beautiful man of the tribe, and left no offspring except the prince of existences [Muhammad]:

Verses. Say Muhammad, and thou art saved,
For he is the boast of the country and of the religion.
What epithets is his name in need of?

The ninth son was Hamzah, who was the principal hero among the Arabs. His epithet is Abu O'mârah, which was also the name of his only son; and his daughter was called Omm Almahâ. The tenth was Abbâs, surnamed Ab-ul-Fazl, born three years before the year of the elephant,[58] and who departed this life in Madinah during the Khalifate of O'thmân, after having passed through eighty-six stages [*i.e.*, years] of the journey of existence, and O'thman officiated in the prayers of his funeral. A'bbâs left six children, *i.e.*, A'bdullah, Fazl, Qâsem, Moa'ved, Hareth, and one daughter named Omm Sofiah Habshiah. Their mother was Omm Fazl, the daughter of Hareth, daughter of Maimunah, who was one of the mothers of the believers.[59]

The names of the daughters of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb are as follows: Sofiah, A'atikah, Baizâ, Barrah, Aminah, and Arovi. These sixteen children were born to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb from numerous ladies. Some of his sons remained in ignorance, whilst some professed Islam, and belonged to the company of the noble and the eminent. Six of them died before the mission, but of the four sons who lived till the time of Muhammad's prophetship, one was A'bbâs, whose descendants are the ornaments of pulpits. The second was Abu Lahab, with reference to whom all agree that he remained an infidel; and the fourth [third (?)] was Abu Taleb, about whose religion there is a difference of opinion, because some of the Motazzelite U'lama and Emamians believe that he entered into the monotheistic religion, but a number of Sunnis think that he remained to the end of his life in the religion of his fathers, and the supporters of both these opinions adduce

[58] A.D. 567. [59] *I.e.*, one of the wives of the prophet.

arguments in their own favour, but Allah the Most High knows best.

It is related that A'bd-ul-Muttalleb so loved his lordship the asylum of prophecy that he preferred him to his own children, and used occasionally to say that a high destiny was in store for the boy, and that he would soon reach the acme of eminence, and attain the zenith of prosperity. It is said that in the shade of the Ka'bah a mat was spread and covered with bedding for A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and that his children were accustomed to sit there. The prophet—u. w. b.—used to come to the bedding and squat on it with great composure. His uncles prohibited him from doing so, but A'bd-ul-Muttalleb ordered his sons not to interfere with him, and when A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was asleep no one dared to awaken him except his lordship, nor could anyone else follow him when he went to his private apartment. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb always saw in his blessed motions and rests the signs of eminence, superiority, and glory from on high, and was accustomed to boast of them to acquaintances and to strangers, and when the death of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb approached he confided his lordship to the care of Abu Taleb.

Record of the Decease of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and the Taking away of Muhammad—u. w. b.—by Abu Tâleb.

When disease had overpowered A'bd-ul-Muttalleb and his nature succumbed to the mighty enemy, he assembled his sons, and said: 'The event inevitable to all mortals is approaching me, and I have no inquietude on my mind except sorrow for Muhammad, who has neither mother nor father. Therefore my sons must enter into a covenant to take care of him after my demise.' Hereon Abu Lahab and some of his brothers offered themselves, but were not accepted; Abu Tâleb therefore spoke to his father as follows: 'If it be the good pleasure of the prince of the Qoraish and of the Arab country, I shall make the utmost efforts to promote, raise, and educate thy darling Muhammad, and shall never allow the dust of vexation to

settle upon the countenance of his circumstances and hopes.' A'bd-ul-Muttalleb assented to this request, and answered: 'As I was, notwithstanding Muhammad's infancy, accustomed to make him my confidant in everything, I must consult him also in this affair, and make him the arbiter of it.' After saying these words he turned his face to the lord of the world [*i.e.*, to Muhammad], saying: 'With the sting of separation and grief of departure from thee, I am going to exchange this perishable for the eternal world, and I ask thee whom of thy uncles thou lovest most, that I may make arrangements with him to take care of thee.' The lord of the world—u. w. b.—then arose, embraced Abu Tâleb and sat down on his knee. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb continued: 'Praise be to Allah, thou agreest with my choice.'

Distich: Whatever is thy wish
Is mine likewise.

Then he said to Abu Tâleb: 'I surrender Muhammad to thee; thou must carefully guard him, and never relax thy vigilance, because in a short time this beloved child will not only become the prince of his nation, but of the whole world. If good fortune is propitious to thee, and thou livest to see the beginning of his mission, thou wilt become aware that I was the man who was in this world best acquainted with his circumstances.' Abu Tâleb received this injunction of his father with all his heart, took him by the hand and made a covenant, after which A'bd-ul-Muttalleb exclaimed: 'Now the agony of death, and the bitterness of spirit connected therewith, have become easy to me,' and beginning to kiss the blessed face of his lordship the prophet—u. w. b.—said: 'I have found none of my own children more sweet and agreeable than thee;' and when he had completed his last will, he expired.

Distich. Verily the builders of grief have cemented the edifice of life with the loam of suffering;
They have inscribed the floor of the magazine of existence with the words, 'Everything therein is perishable.'

When A'bd-ul-Muttalleb died he was one hundred and twenty years old, and his lordship the prophet had attained the age of eight. The latter remained almost always till the time of the exile [hejret] at Mekkah, living contentedly under the protection of Abu Tâleb, who remained faithful to the covenant till the end of his life.

The connection of A'li—u. w. b.—the commander of the faithful with the prophet—u. w. b.—originated in the family of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, A'li having been the son of Abu Tâleb, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, the son of Hashem whose name was O'mar, called O'mrân the high, on account of his dignity. During a year of famine and hardship O'mrân had gone to Syria, and thence imported bread, on an infinite number of dromedaries, to the sanctuary, so that every day two camels were slaughtered and roasted; and the dry breads, having been moistened, were distributed twice daily. He was the first among the Arabs who invited guests to a repast prepared of moistened bread, and was therefore surnamed Hâshem. Other chroniclers, again, have said that Hâshem means one who breaks bread in a cup to make a kind of porridge, but the difference between the two meanings is obvious.[60] Hâshem was proverbial for his liberality and unrivalled in gracefulness; the luminous beams of distinction radiated in such a manner from his forehead that whoever beheld his countenance had not the boldness to contemplate it, but looked to the ground. This the Christian sovereigns knew from their sacred books, and wished to enter into connection with him. One of these was Harqal,[61] who sent him an ambassador and offered him a virgin whom he guarded in his private apartments, but Hâshem refrained from complying with his petition. Afterwards, however, he entered—in consequence of a dream he had had—into

[60] Indigenous dictionaries explain the word as follows. '*Hâshem* is a breaker of bread in a bowl, and one who makes *ashkhanah* [a dish of bread with minced meat], which is the surname of the ancestor of his lordship the prophet—u. w. b.—because during a scarcity he had made *ashkhanah* for the poor.'

[61] Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor.

a matrimonial alliance, at Madinah, with Solma, one of the noblest ladies of the Beni Najjar, who was decorated with the ornaments of intellect and sagacity, on condition that her confinement should take place in her own house. After the consummation of the marriage the lady was taken to Mekkah, but on her becoming pregnant with A'bd-ul-Muttalleb she was on account of the condition again conveyed back to Madinah, but after she had given birth to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, Hashem went to Syria, fell sick in the vicinity of Damascus, and gave directions in his last agony to surrender the bow of the prophet Esma'il, the banner, and the key of the house of the Ka'bah, which he had inherited from his forefathers, to Abd-ul-Muttalleb, and having, though young, bidden farewell to this perishable world, he was buried in that country, where his tomb is still known and visited. Some say that Hashem went to Syria before the birth of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and that he had himself given the just-mentioned articles to his brother Muttalleb, to whom he had also transferred the gubernatorial office, whilst the latter, in his turn, surrendered everything to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb. But Muttalleb was the son of A'bd Munaf whose name was [also] Moghairah and surname A'bd-ush-Shams,[62] but Munaf was likewise the name of an idol. On account of his great beauty, he was also named Qamar [full moon], and because he had inherited the sovereignty from his father, the surrounding kings hastened to join A'bd Munaf. He had four sons[63]: one of them was Hàshem, about whom some circumstances have already been recorded above. A'bd-ush-Shams was the ancestor of the Beni O'mmayya [called Ommiade Khalifs by European authors]; Nauffl was the forefather of Habib the son of Mua'zim, and Muttalleb of A'li Shafa'i; the latter was thus surnamed because it is related that Hâshem and A'bd-ush-Shams were twins, whose foreheads were connected at their birth and could not be separated,

[62] 'Slave, or worshipper, of the sun.
[63] The genealogical table appended to this work gives a clearer idea of this subject

until at last the sword was resorted to. An intelligent man, who had been informed of this proceeding, considered it to be a sign that the descendants of the two brothers would decide their quarrels with the sabre, which prediction was actually fulfilled in the enmity between his lordship the prophet and Abu Sofiân, between A'li—u. w. b.—the select and Moa'viah, and between the Emâm Husain—u. w. b.—and Yazid I

As for O'thmân, his relationship to the prophet—u. w. b.—is as follows: O'thman was the son of O'ffân, son of Abu A'ass, son of O'mmayya, son of A'bd-ush-Shams, son of A'bd Munâf, who was the son of Qossai, whose name was Zaid and epithet Mujmi' [collector], because, after the Qoraish had dispersed, he again collected them, which happened as follows: They had once expelled the Beni Khazifah from Mekkah, and he, having assembled the Qoraish, distributed sites to them. To the more distinguished he assigned places within, and to those who were less so, without the city of Mekkah, wherefore the former were called insiders [battah] and the latter outsiders [zoâher], and for this reason his lordship's epithet is Battahi.

With reference to Qossai, the saying was current: 'Your father, O Qossai, was an adversary of Mujmi', and verily Allah caused the nations to hear.' He was named Marfahi and Qossai because he had, after the demise of his father, gone in the service of his mother to the limits of Syria, where he dwelt for some time, and as he was remote [Qossai], namely, distant from his tribe, he was surnamed Qossai. He had built the house of assembly wherein the Qoraish transacted all their business; there, also, the people congregated and conversed. He used to enjoin his family to guard themselves from Divine wrath and punishment, to respect the rights of their fellow-citizens, to restrain their tongues and hands from evil, to make veracity their motto, to eat in such a way as to deserve reproach neither in this nor in the next world, and to act in such a way as to merit the praise of all their descendants. He

bequeathed dignity and greatness to his sons, and after he had completed his last injunctions he appointed every one of them to a certain office. A'bd Munâf he installed as governor and magistrate; A'bdullah he intrusted with the *Hejâba* and the banner; but A'bd-ul-U'zza was made administrator of the pilgrims, of the well Zamzam, and of the Ka'bah.[64]

The connection of Zobeir with the prophet—u. w. b.—was as follows: Zobeir was the son of A'wâm, son of Jaluvid, son of Asad, son of A'bd-ul-U'zza, son of Qossai, son of Kallâb, who was the most exalted individual among the Qoraish, and the most noble of the tribe A'dnân. When the sight of Kallâb was illuminated by the pulchritude of Qossai, he said: 'Glad tidings to you, tribe of the Qoraish, because my children will be ennobled by the founder of a religion, who will come forth from among them; and your offspring will likewise participate in that nobility. Whoever will treat him well shall remain free from the afflictions of time and eternity, but woe to the man who attacks, slights, or opposes him.' These words, however, remained unknown to the people till the rise of Islâm.

A'bd-ur-rahman A'wuf and Sa'd, the son of Abu Woqâss, are likewise somewhat connected, A'bd-ur-rahman having been the son of A'wuf, son of Hâreth, son of Kallâb; and Sa'd was the son of Woqâss, son of Mâlek, son of Wahab, son of A'bd Munâf, son of Qossai, son of Kallâb, son of Marrah. In all matters the Qoraish acted according to the far-seeing opinion of Marrah, and did not disobey him. He always kept food in store for the nourishment of the poor and destitute, and during seasons of famine he kept various kinds of provisions always ready on the table of his hospitality. He constantly exhorted his children to act well, to obey the Creator, and to esteem His creatures. When he was on the point of death, he

[64] The chief dignities connected with Mekkan worship are: *Hejâba*, which means the possession of the keys and the control of the Ka'bah; *Sikâia*, giving drink to the pilgrims; and *Refâda*, providing them with food.

assembled the members of his family, and said: 'I have heard from my fathers and ancestors that in our family a prophet will arise, whom the Arabs will be inclined to follow, and will gird their loins in obedience to him. The kings of the earth will submit themselves to him, and his opponents will be vanquished and despised. My injunction to you is, to depose the embryo of prophecy only in wombs of purity not belonging either to fools or to infidels. Let it be known to you that whoever is of noble descent possesses a magnanimous heart; that whoever is hasty in his affairs, falls into the vortex of misery; and whoever looks to the consequences of his acts will be respected. Whoever begins anything without preparation, distrusts his own experience, and being suspicious thereof, is deserving of blame.' He also said: 'A'mru, the son of Yahia, has changed the religion of your fathers, Ebrahim [Abraham] and Esma'il [Ishmael], and has led astray his children; but you must abide by the orthodox faith; for my father has imparted this commandment to me.' A'mru, the son of Yahia, and Qama'h were two brothers, sons of Alias, the son of Mazar, son of Abu Bakr, son of Wurrâq, son of Quhafah,s on of O'thman, son of A'mru, son of Ka'b, son of Sa'id, son of Tolhah, son of A'bdullah, son of Sa'd, son of Marrah. The last-mentioned was the son of Kallab, who administered all his life the affairs of the commonwealth, and said, when he was about to die, to his son Qossai: 'I was governor; I dealt justly with my subordinates, I observed the injunctions of our predecessors, I protected widows and orphans, I restrained the insensate of our tribe from committing evil deeds, I implanted a desire to listen to wisdom into the assemblies of our people, and now my death is approaching. Soon, however, an individual will arise from thy seed who will reign over the earth from east to west. I command thee to enjoin thy son, and to cause him to recommend it to all his children from generation to generation, in a covenant and agreement, to act according to the dictates of intellect and knowledge, because by dealing in a contrary way no one can be happy. Know thou that

the course of events produces misfortunes, veracity engenders distinction and nobility, intellect glory and high position, liberality success, amiability the love of the people, and Allah the Most High—whose name be glorified—will befriend him who makes kindness his rule, and will be inimical to him who pursues only pleasure.'

O'mar, the son of Khattâb—u. w. b.—was also connected with the prophet, and his genealogy is as follows: O'mar, son of Khattâb, son of Nasl, son of A'bd-ul-U'zza, son of Riâh, son of A'bdullah, son of Tauttah, son of Râh, son of A'da, son of Ka'b, son of Sa'd, son of Zeid, son of O'mar, son of the well-known Ba'l, who was the ancestor of the discerner;[65] he was the son of Lowa, a governor of the Qoraish, always obeyed and consulted by them, and Lowa was the son of Ghâleb, one of the eminent among the princes of the Qoraish, and always consulted by them.[66]

On his death-bed Mâlek said to his son: 'One of the signs of an intelligent man is, that he guards himself from a misfortune ere it befalls him; but when it unexpectedly surprises him he patiently endures it. Now that I am about to die, I recommend thee to quench the fire blazing in the oven of thy mind against the wickedness of evil-doers with the water of patience; and thou wilt be able to do this if thou considerest that every living being is liable to be beset by evil, and must fall a prey to death. What little property falls to thy lot is to be contentedly and thankfully accepted by thee, because content is not a sequel of abundance.'

He[67] who has been surnamed Qoraish was the son of Mâlek,[68] and there are various explanations how the epithet

[65] This is an epithet of O'mar, the son of Khattâb, the second Khalifeh, because he discerned truth from falsehood. The Arabic word is *Farûq*.

[66] See plate iii. in Sale's Qurân, which is somewhat different.

[67] *I.e.*, Fehr, the first and topmost name in Sale, plate iii.

[68] According to other sources, *e.g.*, the Qâmûs, Nasser was the son of Kenanah, and also according to Sale's table, where he is the father of Mâlek; here, however, he is also called the son of Qoraish, so that there is a confusion of names, which our author also appears to be aware of.

'Qoraish' was applied to Nasser. In the first place, it is said that there exists a beast which governs all marine animals and is named Qoraish, and that when Nasser, the son of Qoraish, attained full dominion he was thus surnamed. Secondly, 'Qoraish' is said to be taken from 'Taqarish,' which means inquiry; and as he made proper inquiries into the affairs of men, and governed them justly, this epithet was attributed to him. Another statement is that this word was adopted [Qoraish meaning industry], and as he sent people to trade, he became known by that name. All these derivations may, however, be true. Some have also said that Qoraish means to collect, and that Nasser was thus named because he collected his whole progeny.

He[69] was the son of Nasser, and his cognomen was Abu Nassîr. It is related that one night he was sleeping in a room and heard the following words: 'We leave thee to choose between present dominion and eternal happiness.' He replied: 'O Lord! I have selected what endures for ever.' On his death-bed he exhorted his children to practise virtue and justice in their intercourse with people, and warned them to abstain from covetousness and envy, saying: 'Be ye to the people instead of their fathers; protect their property, etc.' He was a prince among the Arabs, and consulted by them on important affairs. Before his departure to the eternal abode he assembled his tribe and said: 'Ye are the children of Ebrâhim and Esma'il the prophet, and have inherited glory and praise from your ancestors; have, therefore, regard for your dignity, and thankfully exercise the gubernatorial power among the Arabs, which has been delegated to you by Allah. Laud Him, and sincerely endeavour to please Him by good deeds; also make it your duty to abstain from everything which may bring you to judgment. Keep your covenants, and do not be estranged from anyone because of his poverty, because riches are useless and perishable.'

And he[70] was the son of Modrekah, whose name was A'amal, called Modrekah [attainment] because he had

[69] Mâlek, Sale, plate ii.

[70] Khozaimah, *ibid.*

attained the nobility of his fathers. Others say that one day he was pursuing a hare, and attained him, wherefore he was called Modrekah; at any rate, this word is used for the purpose of distinction. He[71] was the son of Aliâs, and it is said that the latter was thus named at his birth, when his parents had been rejoiced after a long despondency [iâs]. After he had acquired excellent qualities and attained nobility, he invited the sons of Esma'il, who had deflected from the law of Ebrahim, and from the straight way, and were travelling in the vale of aberration, to follow the religion of the Friend. When the Arabs became aware of his great knowledge, perfect excellence, and benevolence, they came from far and near to gird their loins of obedience to him, and to place their heads submissively on the line of his commands. The Arab poets have composed many odes in his praise. Towards the end of his life he was attacked by tumours, and Khandaf, the mother of his children, made a vow that after the death of her husband she would not stop under the shadow of any roof, nor marry again, nor wear handsome clothes. After his demise Khandaf kept her vow, and wandered about in the valley of exile till she withdrew her head within the curtain of the grave. Aliâs endeavoured to strengthen the orthodox religion and followed the law of Ebrâhim.

There is a tradition that the lord of prophecy heard a man saying:

Distich: I am the freest of the Hemiarites, forget it not;
A man must be of our tribe, or he will not succeed.

His lordship replied: 'These words are far from the view of God and the prophet.' It is also related that he said:

Verses He who sows evil, reaps repentance;
The death of a good man is glorious;
But your soul dislikes what is best for it,
And is most anxious in the pursuit of its own devices.

He[72] was the son of Nazâr; his cognomen is Abu Rabia'h, and also Abu Ayad. He was called Nazâr because when born his father sacrificed one thousand camels from grati-

[71] Modrekah. [72] Modar.

tude, and was therefore by the people called a spend-*thrift*. He replied, however, that in return for such a blessing vouchsafed to him by the Most High he considered the sacrifice too small. Nazâr is said to have been possessed of much property, and to have in his last hour bequeathed his money to Mozar, the horses to Rabia'h, and the slaves to Ayyâd, but the remainder of the property to his other children.

He[73] was the son of Moa'd, and it is said that sweet-meats and fresh dates are called by his name. It is related that his aspect was so blooming as to excite the wonder of men and genii. His cognomen is the father of Qazaa'h, who was one of his best-known sons. The Beni Moa'd are said to have been extremely brave and valiant, so that Zohâk, the son of Moa'd, attacked with forty men a number of Esrâilites, to note down whose amount is beyond the power of the Qalam.[74] He took possession of their property and made them all captives, whereon they requested their prophet to curse the Beni A'dnân that a calamity might befall them. He turned his face towards the Qiblah of prayer and wished to carry out his intention; he heard, however, all of a sudden the following Divine revelation: 'Restrain thy hand from this request, because the real, the most excellent, and the best of prophets will be a descendant of A'dnan.'

He[75] was the son of A'dnân, and it is said that the latter, having once been in a solitary place, was followed by seventy men who bore enmity towards him, and was overtaken by them between two mountains. He fought with them till his steed fell; then he retreated to the top of the mountain, where his enemies again reached him, and defended himself till he became exhausted, but took refuge with the Bountiful Sovereign, whereon suddenly a hand appeared and snatched him up to the pinnacle of the mountain, and such a shout struck the ears of his foes that they all perished. And this was one of the miracles of our prophet [by anticipation, he being a descendant of A'dnân].

[73] Nazâr. [74] The writing reed, the Latin *calamus*. [75] Moa'd.

Notices from the Inspired Books, and Predictions concerning the Blessed of both Worlds about the Epithets and Properties of the Seal of Prophets and Prince of Apostles—u. w. b.

In the second part of the fifth book of the Torathah,[76] on the correctness whereof seventy Jewish priests have agreed, there is an authentic prediction about the advent of a prophet distinguished by two characteristics, both of which refer to the lord of apostleship—u. w. b. The one is that he will be of the sons of Esrâil; and the second that this prophet will be like Mûsa [Moses], meaning that he will found a religion, and that he will be endued with power. No one possessing these qualities received a mission except the prince of prophets. The objection of the Christians that this prophet might be I'sa is refuted by the words of the latter in the Evangel: 'I have not come to change the law of Mûsa."[77] This objection may also be raised in another manner, which, however, is not worth recording in this place. In the Torathah it is also mentioned that the sun of prophecy will rise in the east of Qâran, which is a mountain near Mekkah belonging to the destitute among the descendants of Esma'il. The inhabitants of the world believe that the descendant of Esma'il who was, according to the revelation in the Torathah, invested with the robe of prophecy and ennobled with the honour of apostleship was our prophet.

Ka'b-ullâkhbar[78] says: 'I have read in the Torathah that Muhammad, the apostle of Allah, will be neither ill-humoured nor hard-hearted, that he will not raise his voice in public places, nor requite evil with evil; but that he will forgive those [who offend him]. That those who adhere to his religion will praise Allah and will shout the *Takbir*[79] on the tops of houses; will wear loin-cloths down to their legs;

[76] Pentateuch, otherwise called the five books of Moses. Here the *Septuagint* is meant.

[77] See Matthew v 17.

[78] A Christian renegade of Syria, converted to Islâm in the eleventh or twelfth year of the Hegira.

[79] The shout *Allahu-akbar*, 'Allah the greatest,' is meant.

will perform the religious ablutions on four limbs, *i.e.*, the head, face, hands, and feet; that their herald, *i.e.*, Muezzin, will exclaim in the air, *i.e.*, on roofs; that their position in prayer and battle will be the same, and that the voice of their prayer during the night will resemble the buzzing of bees; that the prophet will be born in Mekkah and will flee to Madinah, and that the length and breadth of his kingdom will extend to Syria.'

A'bdullah, the son of Sullâm, says: 'I have found him described in the Torathah as follows: "I have sent thee as a witness, a bearer of glad tidings, and as an admonisher. Muhammad is my servant and my apostle; I have named him *Motawakkal*.[80] He will not depart from the world until he has straightened the crooked religion, and invited the people to monotheism. By his blessing blind eyes, deaf ears, and closed hearts will be opened."' The same individual says: 'I have read in the Torathah that the Most High has sent the Torathah to Mûsa on Mount Sina, and the Evangel to I'sa in Nassrah, which is a village, wherefrom Christians are called Nassari, and the Qurân will be brought to Muhammad at Mekkah.' When the son of Sullâm had seen the verses of the Torathah, and had beheld the characteristics of truth on the august forehead of prophecy, he attained the nobility of Islâm. The confirmation of his case occurs in the blessed verse: 'And those to whom We gave the book know, etc.' Farûq [*i.e.*, Omar] asked him about the seal [*i.e.*, about Muhammad], and received the following answer: 'The prophetship of Muhammad is more certain than my descent or that of my son.' O'mar—u. w. b. —replied: 'How could that be?' The son of Sullâm continued: 'Suspicions arise in pedigrees on account of the possibility of fraud in the mother and her offspring, but about the veracity of Muhammad's claim there is not the least doubt.' Farûq then kissed the hand of the son of Sullâm, and approved of what he had said.

It is written in the Evangel [Gospel] that I'sa had said to his people: 'If you love me you will keep my command-

[80] 'Trusting in God.'

ments, until the arrival of the prophet who will separate the true from the false religion ; for his religion will endure for ever.' This points to the mission of the prophet of the latter times, whose religion abrogates all others. It is likewise written in the Evangel: 'When the Bâraqlittâ [Paraclete], namely, Muhammad, is sent, he will bear witness of the truth of my mission.' The ancient nations always accused the adherents of I'sa of falsehood, especially the Jews, who uttered calumnies about them; but when his lordship the prophet—u. w. b.—was sent, he testified that what I'sa had spoken, and his followers had preserved, is nothing but the truth, and that the stories of the Jews current about them are only falsehoods and slanders.

It is said that Allah the Most High and Glorious sent a revelation to I'sa to consider the prophetship of Muhammad as true, and to believe therein. Allah the Most High has said: 'An apostle who shall come after me, and whose name shall be Ahmed.'[81]

Distich I'sa gave tidings of the approach of my friend,
And by the blessing of thy advent his breath gave life to corpses.

It is written in the Zubûr of Dâud[82]: 'Our mercy has been shed upon thee with every prosperity, namely, our favour has been commingled with thy words. Therefore, I, who am the Lord, have caused success and blessings to accompany thee for ever. Therefore, gird the sword, and attack the enemies, for thou wilt conquer them. Make the word of Allah thy vehicle, for we have started the glory of the law by thy hand and arm. Other nations will humbly place their foreheads on the ground before thee.' And there is no doubt that all people must follow him except his lordship the elect—u. w. b.

In the book of the prophet Shoa'ib[83] the Most High has said: 'I have a servant with whom I am well pleased, and to whom I shall send a revelation to establish justice among

[81] Qurân, ch. lxi. 6 [82] Psalms of David.
[83] Jethro, see vol i., Part I, p. 300, of this Series

all people. By his blessing blind eyes, deaf ears, and closed hearts will be opened, and through My praise he will become the praised of the world. From the four quarters of the world fresh and renewed laudation will accrue to him, because the *Takbir* will be shouted on the housetops; Allah will be remembered and the light of truth will shine among the people, and will not be quenchable by anyone; and the seal of prophecy will be between his two shoulders.' All these are characteristics of his lordship, the refuge of prophecy.

A'bd-ur-rahman Zaid, the Anssari [auxiliary], relates that Adam said: 'In the resurrection I shall be the chief of all mankind, except one individual, a prophet of the name of Muhammad, who will excel me in two things. Firstly, that his spouse Khodaijah will aid him in repelling Satan; secondly, that Allah will allow him to make a Musalman of Satan, whilst my Satan remained an unbeliever and a sinner.' Wuhub, the son of Muniah, narrates that Allah the Most High sent a revelation of the following purport to Adam: 'I am the God who is the proprietor of Mekkah; its inhabitants are My neighbours, and the pilgrims to the Ka'bah are My guests. I shall exalt this house by a prophet of thy progeny of the name of Ebrâhim, who will build it, and all succeeding generations will keep it in a state of repair until the time of the prophecy of one of thy children, Muhammad by name, who is the seal of the prophets, and whom I shall make one of the inhabitants of the sanctuary, of the governors of the Ka'bah, and of the purveyors for the pilgrims.' The U'lama have related that Ka'b, the son of Lowa, had found a description of the prophet in the pages of Ebrâhim, and had therefore on a Friday, which was at that time called A'runah, assembled his people, and had, after offering praises and laudations to the Most High, spoken to them as follows: 'Know ye that the day is bright, and dark the night, that the earth is a bed, and the sky a roof, and the mountains the nails of the earth, and that the stars direct the wayfarer? The former and the latter command-

ment is the same—that males should couple with females. Therefore cherish each other, and educate your children, because after all no one who has died came back, and no one who went away has retraced his steps. You have the house of the Ka'bah; keep it, adorn it, and devote yourselves to this noble country, because a day will arrive when the sanctuary will become very celebrated and a prophet of the name of Muhammad will be sent, who will bring veracious informations;' and he concluded by saying: 'Alas! If I could live then, that I might assist him.' Wuhub, the son of Muniah, also says: 'In the celestial books which have come down to some of the inspired prophets, I have read that the Most High had said: "I have chosen the children of Esrâil in My bounty, and have cherished them with miracles. They were like sheep without a shepherd; I have brought them back, and I have gathered their scattered ones, until they became puffed up by the insolence of prosperity, and the rams among those sheep have knocked their heads against each other. Woe to this rebellious and disobedient nation. I am the Lord, and have, on the day when I created heaven and earth, determined to establish a religion which shall vanquish all others, and have appointed a time thereto. If the children of Esrâil possess any knowledge of futurity, let them say when this will take place? My prophet will be an illiterate Arab of meek and gentle character, who will not raise his voice in market-places, and will not speak on trifles. I shall aid him in every good thing, and bestow on him noble manners, grave elocution, and make piety his motto. Truth, justice, and patience will be his chief qualities; his religion will be sublime and blessed. For his sake I shall cause various opinions to unite in one, and will make his people the best, who will constantly obey and praise Me, will for My sake abandon their families and riches, and will wage religious wars against infidels. Their ranks will be the same in prayer as in battle; they will turn night into day by vigils and orisons, and will fight their enemies like lions. These are favours and benefits which I vouchsafe to

whomsoever I please, for I am the Lord of great excellence." ' Such is the favour of Allah, who bestoweth it upon whom He listeth, for He is Almighty.

All the properties of his lordship are recorded in the celestial books. Some of his names are written in Divine books, and his epithets are recorded by the tongues of prophets, as well as in the chronicles composed by the worthies of former and of latter times. These pages cannot, however, embrace all the traditions, and therefore here the reins of the pleasantly ambling pen are turned towards the descriptions of other histories concerning the glad tidings originating from those who were connoisseurs of arcana and seers. But protection and favour come from Allah!

Record of the Arrival of Toba' in the Noble City of Mekkah, and his being made Happy with the Blessing of the Faith before the Mission [of Muhammad].

The arrangers of the jewels of historical events have strung the pearls of eloquence upon the thread of order as follows: The prosperous and victorious king, the lord of conquest and of the two conjunctions,[84] surnamed Toba' and called Wara', who was distinguished above the sovereigns contemporaneous to him by his dignity, by the extent of his dominions, and by the multitude of his slaves, marched bent on conquest with an army, numerous as locusts, or drops of rain, from the residence of sovereignty and of the government of the world and passed through the country. When his victorious banners arrived in the neighbourhood of Mekkah, none of the inhabitants of the mother of cities came to wait upon him, or showed him civility by going to meet him. Therefore his royal temper became offended with their conceit and arrogance, whereon he determined to demolish the house of Allah, *i.e.*, the Ka'bah; but in consequence of this intention the Omnipotent

[84] The words are *Sâheb Qirân*, and designate a sovereign at whose birth the two planets Saturn and Jupiter have been in conjunction, which happens very seldom

Sovereign afflicted him with a disease, the cure whereof baffled the skill of physicians, and being overpowered by suffering, Toba' reached the boundaries of non-existence. By the persuasion, however, of one devoted to the Courts of Self-existence [*i.e.*, to God] he had been made aware of the wickedness of his intention, abandoned it, repented, and re covered his health, whereon he made the greatest efforts to magnify and to honour the house of Allah. He ordered seven fine cloths and costly garments to be presented to the Ka'bah, and this custom of dressing the house of Allah has since that time become an established and approved rite among exalted personages and kings. After some days, Toba' struck the drum of departure from Mekkah, and went to Madinah. It is well known that during the said journey he was accompanied by four thousand distinguished and learned men. When he arrived in Madinah, four hundred individuals, who were sages of theology, with the Jew Shamûl at their head as chief and leader, examined the site, the breadth and the length of the city, and said to each other: 'We have been informed by the principal U'lâma, and by excellent philosophers, that this blessed locality will become the abode of exile of the seal of prophets, and that his holy spirit will also, from this delightful country, be received into the mausoleum of the heavenly spheres. It is our intention to establish in this land our furniture of permanency, because thus some of our offspring may enjoy the honour of kissing his feet and meeting him.' After Shamûl had consulted and obtained the approval of Toba', they all agreed to leave him and to settle in Madinah. When the king had become certain of the intention of those who were to remain, and of the propriety of their aspirations, he likewise desired to be of their number, lest he should be deprived of the great blessing [to wait for the advent of Muhammad, and possibly to meet him]. But the multitude of his victorious army, his auxiliary troops and allies, dissuaded him, therefore he issued orders to build a house for every one of that happy company, and to provide it with all necessaries. He also

left a description of his own affairs, wherein he manifested his anxious desire to contemplate the beauty of the seal of prophets. This document he left with Shamûl, ordered him to guard it, and said: 'In case the happiness of becoming acquainted with that founder of religion should fall to my lot, surrender this petition to his attendants; but if not, leave it to thy children, and order them to take care of it from generation to generation, until the time when it may be presented to his lordship the best of men.' After this injunction Toba' took leave of the dwellers in the city of love, and departed from Madinah. Those who had become aware of the secrets foreordained by Divine activity settled in that country, and the said letter was in the due course of the vicissitudes of time inherited by their descendants, until it became the property of Abu Aiub, the auxiliary who was the twenty-first descendant of Shamûl, the Jew. When the news of the advent, and the intention of his lordship, the best of existences, to proceed to Yathreb [Madinah] had become public, an individual, Abu Laili by name, was sent to him with the letter, and having met his lordship in the tribe of the Beni Salîm, the letter met with the noble acquiescence and exaltation of being accepted by the prophet, whose miraculously eloquent tongue thrice uttered the words: 'Welcome, thou pious brother!'

The object of describing the above event was, to make it plain to the world that one thousand years and more before the mission Shamûl and Toba' had predicted the advent of the seal of the prophets. Toba' had been anxious to become a follower of his lordship, was ennobled by professing Islam, and departed from this perishable world with a good reputation. Some have described the arrival of Toba' at Madinah in another manner, which they consigned to their chronicles, but Allah knows best the true state of things.

Record of the Dream of Murtad, son of A'bd Kallâb, and the Interpretation of U'fira.

It has been rumoured by men, and noted on the surface of the sun by Mercury,[85] that Murtad, the son of A'bd Kallâb, was a powerful king in Arabia, and that he dreamt on a certain night a fearful dream, which frightened him. On awakening he found that he was unable to remember his dream, but, as he was still greatly distressed, he made a confidant of his mother, who had some knowledge of soothsaying, and he requested her to give him an explanation, which, however, she was unable to do, on account of his forgetfulness, therefore, she assembled all the Arab soothsayers, and narrated to them what had happened. They unanimously informed her that if she had told them the dream they would have attempted to interpret it, but, as its contents were forgotten, they were just as helpless as herself. Then they dispersed, but this matter weighed heavily on the mind of Murtad. One day he left the city for the purpose of hunting and suddenly beheld a fawn in the desert, which he pursued so ardently that he left his companions far behind, became greatly fatigued, and sought a shade where he might rest himself. He succeeded in reaching a mountain slope, where he perceived two or three huts built near a cave. He approached the place, halted in front of a house mounted as he was, whereon an old woman came out saying:

Distich The portico of my eyes is thy nest
Condescend, alight, for this house is thine

In consequence of the invitation of this woman, Murtad, the son of A'bd Kallâb, dismounted, rested himself on the couch of ease, fell asleep, and thus refreshed himself after the fatigue of the journey and the heat of the chase. When he awoke and opened his eyes, he beheld at his cushion a maiden sitting, the freshness of whose countenance eclipsed the uppermost paradise in beauty, and the perfume of whose amber ringlets excelled the fragrance of

[85] Strange figure of speech, probably meaning 'as plain as daylight.'

the vernal breezes. This virgin addressed Murtad as follows: 'O prince worthy of exaltation! mayest thou be preserved and guarded from the causes of separation! Wishest thou for some food?' Murtad was distressed by these words, which implied an acquaintance with his circumstances, and he became apprehensive lest an enemy might overcome and precipitate him from the zenith of power into the abyss of misery; therefore, he refused to answer, and looked in another direction. The maiden continued: 'O king! let nothing dismay your noble mind, and do not give way to sorrow! The luminary of your high destiny is in the ascendant, and the star of your enemy's horoscope is humbled. May the inhabitants of the world be your ransom, and may the evil eye never injure your dignity! We entertain firm confidence that we shall be distinguished and profited by your precious favours.' After delivering sentiments of this kind she produced various dishes, and when the prince had done eating the maiden gave him a cup of pure milk to drink. Murtad, being highly pleased with the agreeable manners and attractive beauty of the maiden, resolved to wed her; he asked for her name, and she said that it was U'fira. Then Murtad asked: 'Knowest thou him whom thou hast addressed as the king of the world?' The maiden replied: 'Thou art the autocrat who had assembled all the Arab soothsayers and interpreters on account of a difficulty he had, but they could not solve it.' Murtad queried: 'Has anything been revealed to thee about that important affair?' U'fira replied: 'The dream thou hast dreamt was terrible enough, and has so overwhelmed your majesty that you have forgotten it; but if you will command, I shall narrate some of it.' Murtad was delighted with this proposal, manifested acquiescence therewith, and U'fira continued: 'O king! thou hast dreamt that whirlwinds arose and pursued each other to the summit of the firmament; within them fires shone, and from them smoke issued. Then thou hast seen a stream of water, limpid as the minds of sages, and a voice was heard inviting the people to drink therefrom in

the following terms: "Whoever drinks with moderation, *i.e.*, deals equitably, will be refreshed; but whoever places his mouth upon the water, *i.e.*, drinks immoderately, and takes greediness for his motto, will partake of loss and misery."' Murtad said: 'This happened as thou hast narrated; and now give me a true interpretation of the dream.' U'fira continued: 'The whirlwinds mean kings, but smoke and fire imply their enmities and friendships. The river of water is the source of the bright religion, and he who invited the people to drink was an interceding prophet, who will be sent to call all mankind to the fountain of the law. Whoever is addicted to equity and justice will obey him and will be liberated from the thirst of the desert of misery, and whoever exceeds their bounds will disobey him and will sink into the vortex of folly.' Murtad asked: 'Will this prophet be sent in peace or in war?' U'fira replied: 'I swear by the exalted majesty of heaven that he will put a stop to all bloodshed which is against the Divine command; he will make princesses captives like bondmaids and reduce them to slavery, and whoever opposes him will become mean and despicable.' Murtad queried: 'What will he call mankind to?' U'fira continued: 'To fasting, to prayer, to intercourse with relatives, to break idols, to do the will of the Merciful, to abstain from image-worship, and to avoid all prohibited and wanton amusements.' Murtad further asked: 'Of what tribe will he be?' She said: He will be of the progeny of Nasser, the son of Nazâr, and will fight his own people until he subjugates them.' Murtad continued: 'If he attempts to extirpate and to annihilate his own people who will aid him?' U'fira rejoined: 'The noblest and the most valiant of men, whose vision will be illuminated by the light of knowledge.' After the termination of this dialogue Murtad considered how he might wed U'fira, but she forestalled him by her penetration, saying. 'O prince! my suitor is jealous and fearless! further proceedings in this matter will only entail sorrow, and bring destruction upon thee.' Fear for his life overpowered Murtad, and caused him to renounce all aspira-

tions to her hand; therefore he quickly mounted his courser, rejoined his army, and sent one hundred noble dromedaries as a gift to U'fira; and this narrative having been consigned to writing by authors of high dignity, has thus survived on the pages of memory.

Record of the Dream of Rabia'h, the son of Nasser, and the Interpretation of Sattih, the Soothsayer, and of Washaq.

It is current among the people and extant in the texts of books that Rabia'h, the son of Nasser, who was one of the governors of the country of Yaman, had dreamt a fearful dream, had assembled the interpreters of his province without telling them the contents, and had asked them for the interpretation of the dream. They replied. 'It is beyond our ability and power to interpret an unknown dream.' Hereon Rabia'h, becoming incensed with wrath, exclaimed: 'It is your duty to solve any difficulty that may occur, and if this affair remains in abeyance I shall punish you.' One of them pointed out to him Sattih and Washaq, saying: 'These two men are the most learned in our times.' Accordingly, Rabia'h first addressed Sattih, who replied. 'Thou hast seen in thy sleep a black fire, its colour was darkish, and it burnt up all the inhabitants of Yaman.' Others relate that Sattih answered: 'O king! thou hast seen something burnt like ashes, coming from the darkness, and all the inhabitants of the country were eating of it.' Others, again, say that the reply of Sattih was this: 'Thou hast seen a back coal issuing from the darkness, and fire fell from it on the province of Tahamah, *i.e.*, Yaman, and it burnt up the skulls of all who dwelt therein.' In short, after Sattih had told Rabia'h what the latter had seen in his dream, Rabia'h said: 'Thou hast spoken the truth; now tell me the interpretation.' Sattih swore that an army would come from Abyssinia, and would take possession of the country. The king, being distressed by this news, asked whether this catastrophe was to happen during or

after his reign. Sattih replied: 'Sixty years after thy decease Saif Zu Yazan will conquer Yaman.' Rabia'h continued: 'Will the Abyssinians retain the kingdom or not?' Sattih continued: 'During seventy and a few years over, the sway of Saif Zu Yazan will last, and some years after his reign the kingdom of Yaman will obey a prophet belonging to a great family.' Rabia'h asked: 'Of what nation will that prophet be?' Sattih replied: 'Of the children of Ghâleb, the son of Qahar, the son of Mâlek. The government will devolve upon him and his people till the day of the resurrection.' As Rabia'h was a stranger to the orthodox religion and did not believe in the resurrection, he was astonished at these words, and said: 'Perhaps there will be a resurrection?' Sattih continued: 'Yes; the resurrection will be a day on which all the people of former and of latter times will be assembled, and will have to give an account of their actions. The good will be, for their reward, translated to the gardens of A'den, and evildoers will, as a punishment for their crimes, be removed to the abyss of Jahannum.'[86] Hereon Rabia'h made Sattih swear an oath, by the redness of the twilight and by the blackness of the commencement of the night, that the existence of paradise and of hell was real, and that what he had said was true.

After the conversation between Sattih and the king had terminated, the latter called for Washaq, who interpreted the dream in the same way as Sattih had done, and gave some explanation about the day of judgment. Thus the king, having obtained information, wept much, believed in the coming of the prophet of the latter days, and all the circumstances of the day of requital. He sent his children to Persia with a message to one of the descendants of Sûsan, at the time King of Persia, who favourably received the new settlers and established them in a pleasant locality on the banks of the Euphrates. It is said that No'màn, the son of Munzer, was one of the descendants of Rabia'h, and in the 'Rauzat-ul-Ahbâb' this dream is attributed to Nassar, the son of Rabia'h.

[86] Gehenna, Hell

Record of Sattih, the Soothsayer.

As Sattih was strange in form, and celebrated for soothsaying, some of his sayings have just been narrated, but a further notice of him will not be unacceptable. Accordingly, we state that chroniclers inform us of the birth of the soothsayer Sattih having taken place during the time of the inundation of A'rem,[87] and that he lived till the rising of the star of prophecy, the length of his existence amounting to six hundred years. Some say that A'rem was the name of the dam erected by Balqis,[88] the spouse of Suleiman—u. w. b.—in the country of Saba, which information is authentic. The Bountiful Giver had looked with a favourable eye on the inhabitants of Saba, and had blessed them with pleasant habitations, delightful gardens, and the most varied fruits. He also sent to them inspired messengers, but they were unable to appreciate Divine grace and rejected the instructions of apostles, wherefore they incurred the wrath of God, in consequence of which the inundation of A'rem overtook them, destroyed the people, and eradicated the trees, the roots whereof had been firm and the branches whereof grew skywards. Sattih had abandoned that country with a select company and had gone to Syria. According to tradition, there were no bones in his stature except the skull, the hands, and fingers. Some say that his face was on his breast, and that he had no power to rise nor to sit down except when he expanded himself and thus squatted down. When he was required to prophesy, or to give information about hidden things, he was shaken like a skin full of oil, folded up like a garment, and thus carried into the assembly. It is related of him that he said: 'One of the genii who, at the time when the Lord —who knows all secrets—was conversing with Mûsa on Mount Túr, had stealthily listened and thus obtained information about secret matters, is giving me notice of

[87] See Qur'an, ch. xxxiv 15

[88] She was the Queen of Saba (Sheba), and her visit to Solomon is narrated in the Qurân, ch. xxvii. See also Part I., vol. ii., p. 83, of this Series.

concealed events, and I am conveying them to men.' It is written in some books that after Sattih's death the science of soothsaying ceased to exist; this is, however, contrary to the assertion of historians. It is, nevertheless, plain that at the mission of the chief of creatures the soothsayers were unable to give information about hidden matters.[89]

Record of Abu A'amer, the Monk, and his hearing True Accounts from the Genii.

It is related by Hozaimah, the son of Thâber, that Abu A'amer, the monk, had renounced idolatry before the advent of his lordship, had adopted the religion of Ebrâhim, had dressed in sackcloth, and had been roaming about everywhere. He asked Jewish priests and Christian U'lâma about the particulars of the religion of the Friend of the Merciful, until they gave him information concerning the mission of the prophet of latter times and the revival of the religion of Ebrâhim. After hearing this news, Abu A'amer was constantly praising the best and greatest member of the family of A'bd Munâf. One day he happened to be in the company of Sarân Aws and of Khozraj engaged in praising his lordship. Ab-ul-Hâshem, who was also one of the monotheists, said: 'O A'amer, when thou beholdest this prophet thou wilt become more acquainted with him, and describe him better.' Abu A'amer replied: 'I heard him so much spoken of by men and fairies that I fancy I see him now, or that I have seen him before.' Ab-ul-Hâshem, being astonished hereat, said: 'Learned men have possibly acquired some knowledge about him from inspired books, but to hear the promised prophet described by fairies is rather strange;

[89] This assertion is in conformity with several passages of the Qurân, especially ch. xxvi. 221-225: 'Shall I declare unto you upon whom the devils descend? They descend upon every lying and [wicked] person; they learn what is heard; but the greater part of them [are] liars. And those who err, follow the [steps of] poets: dost thou not see that they rove [as bereft of their senses] through every valley?' etc.

you must therefore relate to us what the genii have said.' Abu A'amer continued: 'I heard that in Yaman there was a soothsayer without an equal in his profession, and the anxiety to meet him had so engrossed my mind that I started to that country in the holy month of Rajab when the Arabs keep their swords in the scabbards and pluck off the points from their lances. During that journey I travelled in moonlit nights, and was once overpowered by sleep. When I awoke I found myself in a fearful desert; I looked about and beheld several fires in the distance shining like so many stars. Therefore I went towards them, and when I came near I saw around each of them terrible forms entirely different from human beings, so that not only I, but also my camel, were much afraid and knelt down, and we both trembled. I threw myself on the ground, but several of them ran towards me. I pleaded for mercy: some warded off those who had approached me, and four of these strange beings sat down near me. One of them said to me: "Of what nation art thou?" I replied: "Of the tribe of Ghasán." He continued: "From what subdivision?" I replied: "From that of Qiblah the mother of the [tribes of] Aws and Hazraj." The questioner continued: "I shall arise and shed thy blood, as thou wilt see." I expostulated: "Have I not taken refuge with you?" After these words they examined me; I informed them of my circumstances, and said: "Concerning invisible things we trust to soothsayers, who receive information from you; and as I have now got the opportunity, I desire to be informed about events to come without the intervention of mediators." Hereon three of them pointed to the fourth, who was the wisest, and at my request he spoke as follows: "O Abu A'amer, receive information which is not from a book! I swear by Him who exalts the poor and the needy, and who pours down the drops of rain! Verily the time is approaching when lean camels will arrive and will incite men to war. Verily a man full of knowledge will come down from heaven, who will bridle every wicked

person and will silence the base. Indeed, a man will arise who will vanquish Greece and Persia."' Abu A'amer said: 'I asked whether this man would be a king. He replied: "No; he will be a prophet of the Beni Hâshem—noble, powerful, and generous." I requested a further description, and he continued: "His countenance will be refulgent, his stature middling, his glance will be tranquil, but sometimes unsteady. When provoked he will be patient and slow to revenge himself. His eyes will be of a pleasing blackness; the seal of prophecy will appear between his two shoulders, and he will be illiterate. He will found a good religion, and he will be blessed who follows it. These words were heard from angels, who are recording the deeds of the servants of God." After this explanation the speaker arose and departed with his three companions. During that night I remained in the place, but in the morning I returned to my country.'

Some chroniclers have narrated the above event in another manner, but the author is of opinion that after it Abu A'amer ought immediately to have hastened to Madinah, where the lord of prophecy was at that time dwelling and proselytising, and to have followed him; but as Abu A'amer was predestined to eternal misery, his envy did not allow him to profess the religion, but impelled him to encourage the unbelievers to wage war, in consequence whereof he was surnamed Abu A'amer, the wicked [*fâsaq*], as shall be detailed by-and by, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High!

Record of the Portraits of Prophets, to whom be Greeting and Praises.

Heshâm, the son of Abu A'ass, says: 'Siddîq[90]—u. w. b. —had sent me with one of the Qoraish and a message to Harqal[91] to invite him to profess Islâm. When we arrived in Damascus at the foot of the throne of Hilah Bin Abham Ghasâni, who was the last king of Syria tributary to the

[90] Cognomen of Abu Bakr. [91] Heraclius.

Qaissar,[92] we found him sitting on a throne like a great sovereign. He sent a man to us to make inquiries and to ascertain our wishes; but as we had sworn that we would speak only to Hilah himself, or that we would return, he was under the necessity of conversing with us. We began the interview with our good wishes and greetings, which he accepted. As we saw him dressed entirely in black we asked for the reason, and he replied: "You see what garments I wear? I have sworn an oath not to put them away until I have removed you beyond the limits of Syria." But we rejoined: "A strange fancy has taken hold of thy mind; for, if it pleaseth Allah, we shall not only deprive thee of this country, but also dispose of the realm of thy king, because our prophet has given us good news with reference to this matter." Hilah rejoined: "You cannot subjugate this kingdom, because those who are to do it keep the fast during the day, and break it in the night." We retorted: "We fast in this manner." After we had uttered these words the colour fled from his countenance and he exclaimed: "Arise, and go about your business!" and giving us a man for a companion he sent us to Harqal. When we arrived in the metropolis of the Qaissar our Syrian companion said: "It is not meet for you to make your entrance into the city mounted on camels." Accordingly he kept us without the town and reported our arrival to the Qaissar, telling him also that Arab envoys do not change their beasts, and Harqal replied that we might act as we liked. Therefore we again mounted our camels and entered the city, with our swords dangling by our sides. When we had reached the gate of the Qaissar's palace we made our camels kneel down and exclaimed: "No god but Allah!" and "Allah the greatest!" there is a tradition that on this occasion the whole palace of the Qaissar shook and trembled like a young date-tree agitated by a tempest. At that time the Qaissar was looking from an apartment towards the road and sent a person out to invite us to make known our religion and our requests; but we replied that

[92] Emperor of Byzantium

Siddiq had given us no permission to converse with anyone except the Qaissar. Then we received orders to meet him, and when we entered the audience-hall we beheld the Qaissar sitting on a throne with a number of able-bodied men standing at the foot thereof. The Qaissar was, like all his grandees, dressed in red. When his eyes alighted on us he smiled, and asked us, through an interpreter, why we did not salute him according to the usage. We replied: "It is illicit for us to greet you, in the same way as you are prohibited to salute us." He asked: "What is your salutation to a king?" We answered: "Greeting to thee!" He queried: "What does he answer?" We replied: "The same words." He again asked: "What are your greatest words?" We said: "No god but Allah, and Allah greatest." When we pronounced these words the apartment and the palace again shook, and Harqal continued: "Does the same thing happen whenever you utter these words in your own houses?" We replied: "We have never seen anything like this in our dwellings." He continued: "Would to God that when you pronounced these words the house had tumbled down on your heads, and I had lost one-half of my kingdom." We asked: "Why?" He replied: "The loss of the moiety of my empire would be more bearable to me than the appearance of the prophetship of Muhammad." '

It is related in the *Kazrûni* chronicle that the Qaissar said. 'If at the pronunciation of these words my house or apartments had shook, I would rather have given you the moiety of my kingdom, because the universality of this circumstance would imply prophecy, but its speciality points only to fraud.'

Heshâm reports: 'After this conversation Harqal still further discoursed with us; at last he asked us about our fast and prayers, and we informed him about the manner in which we practised them. Then he issued orders to his people to assign to us a pleasant mansion, and to provide everything necessary for our convenience. After three days had elapsed we were again called to his presence and asked many questions. When we had answered them

he ordered a large box of wood which was gilded to be brought forward. It had a door, and was divided into compartments, each of which had one likewise. He opened the door of a compartment, and having drawn from it a piece of black silk-cloth, unfolded it, and we beheld thereon the picture of a man with a red complexion, large eyes, and long neck. He had no moustache, and his hair was plaited on two sides. He was beautiful to look at, dignified and grave. Harqal asked: "Do you know whose portrait this is?" We replied: "No." He said: "This is the lord Adam." Then he opened another door, and again took out a black piece of silk-cloth, representing a white man, with curled hair, red eyes, big head and a beautiful moustache. He asked: "Do you know whose portrait this is?" We replied: "No." He said: "This is Nûh [Noah] the prophet." In this manner he continued to open the doors and to explain, till he came to a man with an extremely white countenance, black eyes, wide eyebrows, broad forehead, high nose, his face being fresh as if beaming with a smile. He said: "This is the picture of Ebrahim [Abraham], the Friend." Then he opened another door and took out a piece of white silk which contained the portrait of our prophet. He asked: "Do you know whose picture this is?" We replied: "Yes; this is the portrait of Muhammad the apostle of Allah!" Then we began to weep, and when he perceived this he rose, in token of respect and honour to that picture, sat down again, and continued: "I adjure you by God to tell me whether this is the portrait of Muhammad." We rejoined: "By God, it is; and we fancy we see him present!" Then he looked awhile at us, and said: "These are the images of prophets, and I took them out to try you." Thereon he opened another door, from which he took a black piece of silk-cloth, containing the figure of a man with a brownish complexion, having black hair, good sharp eyes, an austere countenance, clenched teeth, and compressed lips, as if he were angry. He said: "This is the portrait of Mûsa [Moses]." By the side of Mûsa there was another figure, but dim, as if

varnish had been passed over it. He said: "This is the image of Esahâq [Isaac]." He then produced a figure like that of Esahâq, and said: "This is the prophet Ya'qûb [Jacob]." After that he showed us an image which was white, but somewhat reddish, with a beautiful shining face, the whole figure representing humility. He said: "This is the picture of Esma'il [Ishmael], the ancestor of your prophet." After that he showed a portrait resembling that of Adam, and said: "This is the image of Yusuf [Joseph]." Then he drew out a white piece of silk representing a man with a red face, small nose, sleepy eyes, great abdomen, well-proportioned feet, and girded with a sword. He said: "This is the picture of Dáud [David]." After that he produced a white piece of silk containing a large-headed man riding on a horse. He said: "This is the image of Suleimán [Solomon]." Then he showed the figure of a man on black silk, who had a white face, black eyes, luxuriant hair, and beautiful moustache. He said: "This is I'sa [Jesus]."[93]

'After we had seen these figures of the prophets, we inquired from the Qaissar how he had obtained these pictures, and how they had fallen into his hands, because we had concluded from the portrait of our prophet that all of them resembled their originals. Thereon Harqal informed us that Adam had prayed to the Bestower of forms to show him the figures of his descendants, who would be ennobled by the honour of becoming prophets, and that the Most High complied with the request by sending him the portraits of the prophets, which had been kept in the treasury of Adam in the Maghrab[94] country until Eskandar Zulqarnîn arrived there and took possession of them. After that they fell into the hands of Dániál, the prophet, who painted them on these pieces of silk. Then they were removed and kept in the treasuries of sovereigns till he had inherited them. He further informed us that his mind was

[93] This description of pictures is given also in the Arabic work *A'jáib-ul buldán* [Wonders of Countries], by Zakariah Qazvini.
[94] Literally *West*, but meaning North Africa, west of Egypt.

now at ease, and that he had obtained certainty of the authenticity of our prophet's likeness, and exclaimed: 'I wish that God the Most High had conferred the grace upon me to abdicate my throne, and that I might have become as devout as one of the meanest of yourselves, until the time when the bailiff of destiny knocks for admission at the door of the casket of life." '

Heshâm says: 'At the audience of leave-taking Harqal distinguished us with royal favours, and when we returned we waited on Siddîq—u. w. b.—to make our report. He wept and said: "Poor Harqal! Had Allah the Most High wished to do him good, he would have been blessed by professing Islâm." He also informed us that the lord of prophecy—u. w. b—had said: "Those who possess the revealed books have read about my qualities, because the Lord of Glory had foretold them in the Torathah and in the Enjil [Evangel]." '

Ka'b-ul-âkhbâr says that the Friend of the Merciful [*i.e.* Abraham] assembled his children in his last agony, and that, according to one tradition, he ordered the ark of the covenant, but according to another a chest, to be produced, which he opened, and said: 'Look into this ark.' When they did so, they beheld compartments therein equal in number to that of the prophets, the last division containing the lord of prophecy—u. w. b.—made of red sapphire, with Siddiq at his right side and the words on his forehead: 'This is the first individual who will listen to the religion of this prophet.' In front of that prince was A'li the select, girded with a sword, and having the inscription on his forehead: 'This is the brother[95] of the apostle, and the son of his uncle; he is strengthened by Divine power.' Around his lordship the prophet were his principal companions mounted on horses, and from the forehead of each of them rays issued, resembling the light of the sun in the expanse of the atmosphere. These words may, however, be reconciled—as will be shown

[95] Brother in the Faith is meant, he being the cousin of Muhammad.

afterwards—with the assertion of the U'lâma, who relate that the first person who professed the Faith was Khodaijah, and after her A'li, the son of Abu Tâleb—u. w. b.—then Zaid, the son of Hâreth, and lastly Siddîq; but if those who are accustomed to the highest assembly [the court of the author's patron?] find discrepancies among the figures of the prophets given in this place, and the descriptions recorded in the first volume, it is hoped they will attribute them to the difference of the traditions.

Record of some of the Events and Signs that occurred before the Birth of him who sits in the Chief Litter of the Caravan of Prophets.

It is related after Ebn A'bbâs, that when the reality of Muhammad's light—u. w. b.—was transferred to the person of Aminah, all the Arab soothsayers became aware thereof, and communicated the information to each other. In the East and in the West of the world the wild beasts and the birds congratulated each other, and said: 'The time is at hand when the world will become illuminated by the presence of the father of Qâsim.'[96] And the cattle of the Qoraish tribe began to speak, saying: 'The mother of Muhammad is pregnant with Muhammad, who will be the Amîn[97] of the earth and the luminary of the age.'

It is related that on the morning of the conception the idols in all the inhabited quarter of the earth[98] were overturned, the throne of Satan fell, and the couches of sovereigns were prostrated upside down. Jebrâil [Gabriel] brought the green Muhammadan standard and erected it on the top of the Ka'bah. Angels proclaimed the news, saying: 'Glad tidings to you, because the light of Muhammad—u. w. b.—has become fixed in the womb of

[96] Qâsim is the name of Muhammad's first-born son, who died in his infancy.

[97] *Faithful, trustworthy*, etc. This is more especially the title of Gabriel, who is called the 'Faithful Spirit.'

[98] According to the Moslem belief, only one quarter of the globe is inhabited, and the remaining three are occupied by water.

Aminah, and will, after having been transmuted into the best of creatures, receive a mission in the most appropriate manner.' During the whole time of pregnancy the embryo had not suffered the least injury, and there is a tradition of Aminah that from the beginning of the conception no sign whatever of her pregnancy manifested itself during six months, except the cessation of her courses. She further relates that after the expiration of that time a man once asked her, at a time when she was half asleep and half awake, whether she was aware of her pregnancy, and she replied in the negative, and that she became conscious thereof only after having been informed by him that she would give birth to the prophet of the Arabs. When the time of her confinement approached, the same individual made his appearance and instructed her to pronounce the words: 'I take refuge with the Self-Existent and Only One, from the evil [machinations] of every envious person.' Then he enjoined her to name the infant Muhammad as soon as he was born. She repeated the name, remembered it, and narrated to other women all that had taken place; and by their advice she put two iron hoops on her arm and neck, which a man some time afterwards removed from her, telling her no longer to keep them near her. It is also related that Aminah said: 'When I was asleep that night, I dreamt that a light issued from me, by the reflection whereof I beheld the Kiosk at Bassiri in Syria.' The interest of this tradition is chiefly centred in the circumstance that when the holy prophet honoured Bassiri—which is a town in Syria—with his presence during a journey, he passed by the just-mentioned spot.

The Happy Birth of the Intercessor on the Day of the Resurrection, and Explanation of some of the Events which took place during that Night.

Although, according to a tradition, nearly eight hundred years had elapsed since the mission of I'sa, the *Ulula'zm*[99]

[99] This expression occurs in the Qurân, ch. xlvi. 34, and is translated: *those who were endued with constancy*, but applied to Moses,

had not been sent to resuscitate dead hearts as had been done by the blessing of his Messianic breath, until the licentiousness, idolatry, and corruption of the people had reached their maximum. Everybody neglected the worship of God. In Arabia only idols were adored, and in Persia Satan alone was followed, so that the light of [Divine] knowledge was turned into darkness by transgression, and the times of prosperity were changed to the afflictions of misery. Then the breeze of mercy began to waft from the throne of grace, the dawn of felicity commenced to breathe from the orient of supremacy, the shining moon rose on the horizon of magnificence, and the world-conquering sun radiated in the east of [Divine] favour. It is not hidden and veiled to the intelligent that these parables and metaphors are used as figures of speech by eloquent authors. The profoundly learned are, however, certain that a luminary had projected a ray upon the upper and the nether world, by the blessing of whose advent the sun, moon, planets and their satellites were, from the convexity of the sphere of spheres to the centre of the globe, and from the space of the exalted throne to the surface of the amber-coloured stratum [*i.e.* the earth], called forth from the darkness of non-existence, and were blessed with the light of creation.[100]

In fine, the chief of created beings, the mediator of existing creatures, and bestower of the essence of individuality, Muhammad the chosen—u. w. b.—was born of Aminah, the daughter of A'bd Munaf Zohri, during the year of the elephant,[101] at the end of the eighty-second of the Alexandrian era, and manifested his world-adorning countenance to the denizens of the earth. Concerning the

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Noah and others. See Index, Part I, vols. i. and ii, of this Series for further information.

[100] Allusion to the light of Muhammad, from which everything was created, as has already been stated See Part I., vol. i., pp 34-36.

[101] The year of the elephant is so called on account of Abraha's expedition, which was annihilated by the stones of the Ababil birds, the elephant Mahmûd alone escaping. This year corresponds to A D. 570.

place of his birth all agree, but there are differences of opinion as to the time thereof. The U'lâma who wrote chronicles unanimously state that he was born in the honourable city of Mekkah in one of the dwellings of the people of the Beni Hâshem, and that afterwards, when he inherited the house, he presented it to O'qail, the son of Abu Tâleb, whose sons sold it after their father's death to Muhammad Bin Yusuf, brother of Hajjaj Thaqfi, and that blessed place became afterwards known by the name of the Sarâi of Muhammad Bin Yusuf. This last-mentioned individual placed the house in which his lordship [the prophet] was born within the so-called 'white castle.' After the fall of the dynasty of the Omniades [Beni Ommayya], Jauzar, the mother of Harûn-ur-rashid, came on a pilgrimage, and having separated the house from the castle, built a mosque so that the pious might perform their five daily prayers in that blessed locality. But with reference to the birth of his lordship the emblem of distinction, many opinions are current. Some say this propitious event took place on the very day when the companions of the elephant were approaching, and the impending catastrophe was averted—as has been recorded in these pages—on account of his proximate birth, which was consequently a miracle. Other opinions are that he was born fifty-five or forty days, or two years and two days, and even thirty or forty years, after the just-mentioned calamity. Most probably, however, his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—was during that very year invested with the robe of existence by the clothier of destiny. There is, moreover, an uninterrupted tradition that his blessed birth took place during the month Rabi' the first.[102] It is related by Muhammad Bâqer that it happened ten days after the just-named month had elapsed, and by Muhammad Bin Hasan, that the eighth day of it had expired; namely on the seventh day of the year of the

[102] According to Caussin de Perceval, Muhammad was born on August 12, A.D. 570, but according to Dr. Aloys Sprenger on Monday, April 20, A.D. 571.

upper conjunction,[103] agreeing with the twentieth Nisân[104] and the seventeenth of Di-Mah,[105] which day is in the Syriac language called Sarûsh. Others adduce the seventeenth or the twelfth of the above-mentioned month, but for further dates we refer the reader to the *Rauzat-ul-ahbâb.*

The following are some of the [miraculous] events of that night, which became to everybody as plain as day-light: The disappearance of the water from the lake Sadah; the overflowing of the river Samâvah, which is one of the watercourses of Syria, and had been dry during one thousand years. But possibly when the water of the lake Sadah was absorbed by the earth, it bubbled forth again in the Wâdi Samâvah, as Shekh Kamâl-ud-din, that model of piety—may his secret be sanctified—has said:

Distich: The Greek dug a mine in the country of Beran,
And again came out in the country of Khojand.

During that night also the palace of Naushirvân, the strength of which will be mentioned[106] in the record of the

[103] Of the two beneficent planets Jupiter and Venus?

[104] Syro-Greek or Seleucian era. The Christian Arabs of Baghdâd still use the ancient names of months, and with them Nisân corresponds to our April.

[105] Name of a pre-Islamitic Persian month.

[106] When Manssûr was beginning to lay the foundation of the city of Baghdâd he wished to demolish the palace of Kesra Naushirvân at Madâin, and to dispose of the bricks thereof in building Baghdâd. On this subject he consulted Khâled Barmaki, who dissuaded him, saying that this was a monument of the sovereigns of Persia, from which a conclusion could be drawn as to the power of Muhammadanism that subjugated the possessors of such edifices; and also because A'li, the Commander of the Faithful, had performed his devotions in that locality. But as Khâled Barmaki was a Persian by birth, Manssûr reproached him with desiring to uphold the memory of the Persian kings, and therefore being unwilling to see their edifices destroyed. Accordingly he issued orders for the demolition of the palace of Kesra, but when he perceived that the wages of the people employed in disengaging the bricks, and those for the donkeys who carried them to Baghdâd, far exceeded the price of new bricks burnt on the spot, he commanded the work to cease, and informed Khâled of the case. The latter, however, replied: 'O prince of the age' do not desist from the business of demolition, lest the people should say: 'The Amir Manssûr was unable to destroy what others had built!"' But on account of his great avarice and covetousness Manssûr paid no attention to these words. This famous palace, surnamed the

Khalifate of Abu Ja'far Manssûr the Abbaside, so trembled that fourteen of its pinnacles fell to the ground. This event filled the mind of Kesra with terror and apprehension, which, however, he did not communicate to anyone, until at last he one day convoked his intimate friends and courtiers, and wished to do so, when all of a sudden news arrived from Estakhar[107] that the fire of the chief temple of Persia, which had been burning for a thousand years, had become extinguished. Having searched their historical books for the meaning of this sign, they found that it portended 'decline of power.' At this information the smoke of amazement ascended into the receptacle of the brains of Naushirvân, and his dismay was much augmented. On that occasion the Mobed of Mobeds—*i.e.*, the chief ecclesiastical dignitary of the Magi—represented that he had during that night seen fleet and obstinate camels in a dream, which were leading Arab horses until they had crossed the Tigris and dispersed in Persia. Naushirvan asked for the interpretation of this vision, and the Mobed replied that according to his opinion some catastrophe must have happened in Arabia. Kesra then despatched a courier to No'man Munzer, who had been appointed by him governor of the country, and asked him to procure a learned man able to solve any questions that might be proposed to him on a certain subject. Accordingly No'mán sent a man called A'bd-ul-Masih,[108] whose utterances were looked upon with great confidence by the Arabs. When this individual arrived, he was asked by Naushirvan whether he would be able to answer a question, and he replied that he would try to do so; but in case he should himself be unable, he would point out a man who could

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Aiowân, has in its ruins, even in our times, been the wonder of travellers who described them, although they are but a miserable remnant of ancient splendour.

[107] Called Persepolis by Greek authors, and burnt by Alexander the Great at the instigation of a woman in a carousal, when he was in a state of ebriety. It was not yet deserted in the time of Naushirvân, or so utterly desolate as it now is.

[108] Servant of the Messiah

give information on that important affair. After the question had been stated to A'bd-ul-Masih, he rejoined that only Sattih, who lived in Syria, could answer this inquiry. Accordingly he was ordered by Naushirvân to depart to that country for the purpose of uplifting the veil of mystery from the countenance of the Kesra's wishes, and arrived, after terminating his journey, at the dwelling of Sattih, whose bedside he approached, but found him in the agony of death, so that he received no answer to the numerous salutations and greetings sent by Naushirvân. Then A'bd-ul-Masih recited a few distichs to the effect that he had been sent by Naushirvân, but could not obtain a reply to solve various difficult queries. When Sattih had heard these verses of A'bd-ul-Masih he raised his head and said: 'A'bd-ul-Masih has come to my bedside at a time when I am about to enter the grave, O A'bd-ul-Masih! The king of the Beni Sâsân—*i.e.*, Naushirvan—has sent thee on account of the trembling of the palace, the decline of power, the extinction of the fires of Persia, and the dream of the Mobed of Mobeds!' He further said: 'As soon as Muhammad the elect—u. w. b.—is sent, and the recital—*i.e.*, reading of the Qurân—begins, the river Samavah will flow, and the lake Savah will become exsiccated; the fire of the chief temple of Persia will be extinguished, the dignity of the Persians, of the Syrians, and of Sattih will cease, *i.e.*, the government of Persia will be destroyed, and Sattih, taking leave from the perishable, will hasten to the eternal abode. According to the fourteen pinnacles that fell from the Kesra's palace, fourteen individuals of the Sasanians, some of whom will be females, shall be encircled with the garlands of royalty, and will hereafter undergo great sufferings and hardships.' After uttering these words Sattih ceased to speak and his soul was severed from his body. A'bd-ul-Masih then returned from Syria with the above information to Naushirvân, who was greatly comforted thereby, and said: 'I dreaded that some event or calamity would take place suddenly during my lifetime, but a long period must elapse whilst fourteen individuals of our

dynasty are reigning.' He said this not suspecting that within the space of four years the government of ten of them would terminate. But the last of the fourteen was King Yazdejerd, whose affairs will be discussed in the proper place during the Khalifate of O'mar.

Another event of the night of the [prophet's] nativity was that it took place when the Qoraish were holding a festival in honour of one of their idols, in whose temple they had at that time assembled, and were engaged in eating and drinking. They found, however, that their god had fallen to the ground, and set him up again; but as he was, a short time afterwards, again found prostrate on his face, the idolaters were much dismayed, and erected him again. When they had done so the third time, a voice was heard from the cavity of that idol saying:

Verses: All the regions of the earth, in the east and west,
Respond to the nativity, whom its light strikes;
Idolatry decreases, and the hearts of all
The kings of the earth tremble for fear.

STRANGE SIGNS WITNESSED BY AMINAH AND OTHERS DURING THE NIGHT OF THE NATIVITY, AND SOME EVENTS THAT HAPPENED ON THE SECOND DAY AFTER THE BIRTH OF THAT BLESSED INDIVIDUAL.

Aminah related that just before her confinement her whole body trembled for a very short time, and after that she saw the house excessively illuminated, so that fright and terror overcame her, and she felt a white bird rubbing its wings against her. When her apprehensions vanished she felt very thirsty; then an extremely white beverage was given her, which she imagined was milk, but drinking thereof she found it more sweet than honey. After that she beheld a number of women of tall stature, whom she considered to be maidens of the Beni A'bd Munâf. She took confidence in them and wondered whence they had come, but hey calmed her mind. Hereon she saw a piece of long white brocade, and heard the allocution: 'Keep her concealed from the eyes of the people.' She perceived a

company of men, standing in the air with vases of silver in their hands. Then perspiration was dripping from her, which had the odour of musk, and she exclaimed: 'I wish A'bd-ul-Muttalleb were here!' She beheld, as it were, the whole world in a blaze of light; a legion of birds with emerald beaks and ruby wings had entered the house, and the Lord Most High having raised the veils, she bodily saw the eastern and western regions of the world. On the roof of the Ka'bah and in other places banners had been erected, and many shocks were felt in the house without seeing the movers. The moment Muhammad—u. w. b.—was born he prostrated himself in adoration, and raised his head towards the sky, as if in the act of supplication and prayer. All of a sudden a hand appeared from above, which covered and snatched him up into a cloud out of sight, and the words were heard: 'Receive him in the series of prophets, invest him with the robe of honour of the orthodox religion, show him to his ancestor Ebrâhim, and take him to the ocean that the inhabitants of the sea may know that in his time unbelief and idolatry will be abolished.' After that, upon a folded woollen cloth, a piece of silk was spread under him for a couch. He had keys in his hands, and a voice was heard saying: 'This is Muhammad, who holds in his hands the keys of prophecy, victory, and confirmation.' After a short time another cloud descended, which was more luminous than the first, from which the neighing of horses and the flapping of the wings of birds was heard, and when Muhammad had for a long time remained concealed from the sight of his mother, she heard a voice saying: 'Take him round the earth! Present him to the saints among genii and men,' and exclaiming: 'Endow him with the purity of Adam, with the strength of Nûh, with the friendship of Ebrahim, with the nature of Esahâq, with the eloquence of Esma'il, with the glad tidings of Ya'qûb, with the beauty of Yusuf, with the voice of Dâud, with the abstinence of Yahia, and with the kindness of I'sa. Immerse him into the sea of the morals of the prophets and inspired messengers.' A

considerable time afterwards she again beheld him with a piece of white silk in his hand, and the water of [Divine?] succour distilling from him, and heard a voice saying: 'Muhammad having the whole world in his grasp, every creature will obey and revere him.'

It is also related of Aminah that after the presence and disappearance of Muhammad she saw three men, whose countenances were shining like the sun. One of these three individuals had in one hand a silver pitcher, exhaling the odour of musk; in the other a dish of emerald, with two handles of mother-of-pearl, and at the same time the following expressions were heard from the other world: 'As he has selected the Ka'bah, we have there made the Qiblah and his habitation.' The third man held a piece of white silk in his hand, which contained his [Muhammad's] seal. Then the holder of the dish placed Muhammad into it, poured water on him, and washed him seven times. These three men then kissed his feet. He who held the piece of silk was the gardener of paradise; he wrapped him into the piece of silk, perfumed him with very fragrant musk, and took him under his wings. When he again took him out from beneath his wings, he spoke many words to Muhammad, which his mother could not understand. He also pronounced an incantation over him, rubbing his hand over the back and the head of the infant, saying: 'O Muhammad! glad tidings to thee, for the sciences of the prophets have been deposited in thy heart. Thou hast become the most learned and valiant among them. The keys of paradise are in thy hands, and awe of thee has so taken hold of the hearts of men that, hearing only thy voice, they will be subject to fear and trembling.' Suddenly a man appeared, who placed his mouth on the infant, in the same way as a bird feeds its little one, and Muhammad asked with his finger for more. Then this man said: 'O Muhammad! glad tidings to thee, for every good quality has been bestowed upon thee.' Then he rubbed oil on his head and face, combed his hair, inserted collyrium into his eyes, and, taking him up in his arms, removed him

out of sight. At that time Aminah became much distressed, amazed, and said: 'Where are my people? It seems that they have become annihilated in this emergency, because I have been several nights in this place, suffering from the labour of parturition, and no one comes near me!' At that time the same man [whose countenance shone like the moon, and who smelt like musk] brought back Muhammad, and said: 'I have carried him about the earth, and have presented him also to Adam, who took him on his breast, pronounced a blessing upon him, and said: "Good news to thee, Muhammad! for thou wilt be the prince of my children of former and of latter times."' After these words that man disappeared from her sight, but first surrendered Muhammad to his mother, and said: 'O Lord and Prince of the East and of the West of the World, glad tidings to thee! Whoever firmly adheres to thy religion and obeys thee will be resuscitated in thy company on the day of judgment!' At that time A'bd-ul-Muttalleb entered, and Aminah informed him of everything that had taken place. He, in his turn, said: 'This night I was engaged in prayer in the house of the Ka'bah, and I suddenly perceived that it inclined itself towards the place of Ebrâhim,[100] again recovered its former position, and exclaimed: "Allah is greatest! O Lord Muhammad, purify me from the idolaters!" I also beheld Habal, the chief idol, prostrate on its face, and heard the announcement: "Aminah has given birth to a son, over whom a Divine cloud has alighted, and a plate has been brought from the Sanctum in which to wash him. Muhammad will lead out the people from darkness into the light of guidance. He will obtain a mission, and will be as a shining light. He will be an apostle, inviting and addressing all mankind. O ye angels! witness that we have presented to him the keys of the treasuries of prophecy. Rejoice ye, therefore, at his nativity!"' A'bd-ul-Muttalleb further said to Aminah that, on hearing these words, his tongue became

[100] Marked No. 8 on the 'View of the temple of Mekkah' appended to Sale's Qurân.

benumbed in his palate, and that he thought he had been dreaming. But on rubbing his hands over his eyes he found himself awake, and proceeded from the gate of the Beni Shaibah towards Battha. He beheld Safa exalted and Merva abased,[110] and heard a voice exclaiming: 'O Prince of the Qoraish! why do I see thee in fear and trembling?' Then he went to the house of Aminah[111] to see Muhammad, but when he reached the door he saw thereon a white bird with spread wings, the light whereof illuminated the mountains around Mekkah. Over the house there was a white cloud, which hindered him from entering. He therefore sat down awhile, and said to himself: "I wonder whether I was awake or asleep when I saw all these things?' The odour of musk issuing from the house was so strong that he could not enter it; at last, however, he mustered courage, went in, and found her in the condition above described.

It is related that when A'bd-ul-Muttalleb entered the house and shook the ring of the door, Aminah replied in a feeble voice, and said: 'Open quickly, for my heart is well-nigh breaking!' When she let him in he could not see the holy light of prophecy on her countenance, and, ready to tear his garments, exclaimed: 'Woe to me! Where has that light from thy face departed to? For I cannot see it!' She replied that she had been delivered of a child, and informed him of everything in detail that had happened on the occasion. But he retorted that he disbelieved her allegation, as he perceived no traces of child-birth upon her. Aminah continued: 'By Allah! I speak the truth, and the white bird which thou hast seen is quarrelling with me when I give milk to Muhammad, and desires to suckle him alone.' A'bd-ul-Muttalleb exclaimed: 'Then show me the new-born infant.' But she rejoined: 'Alas! how couldst thou see him, since a man had brought a dish of

[110] Names of two mountains near Mekkah with idols worshipped by the Arabs before the time of Islâm.

[111] Her house was in the part of Mekkah called Battha. See Part I., vol. i., p. 17, of this work.

emerald and washed him therein, and told me not to show my babe to anyone during three days?' He continued: 'Show him to me, or else one of us two must die at my hands.' When she perceived how incensed A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was, she directed him to a certain house, and told him that he would there find the child, swaddled in woollen cloth. But when he entered and wished to behold the world-adoring beauty of the lord of creatures, he perceived a man of terrible aspect approaching him with a sabre, and exclaiming: 'Return! for no one can see him until all the angels have finished their visits!' Hereon A'bd-ul-Muttalleb began to tremble, and wished to leave the house. When, however, he departed, he became mute, and it is said that he was unable to utter a single word during seven days.

It is related that the excellent Fattimah said: 'I was present with Aminah on the night of her confinement, and beheld stars moving towards us as if about to fall on the ground.[112] After the birth had taken place, a light detached itself from Aminah which illuminated the apartment in such a manner that I could see nothing except brightness.

It is related of Shafai, the mother of A'bd-ur-rahman, who was the midwife of Aminah, that when Muhammad the elect—u. w. b.—was born, the exclamation 'May the Lord have mercy on thee!' was heard, and the horizon was so lit up from east to west that she was able to perceive several castles of Syria. But all the strange things witnessed by Shafâi on that night are recorded in chronicles.

There is also a tradition that on the day after the birth of his prophetic lordship, the Jewish priests asked A'bd-ul-Muttalleb whether an infant had been born in his tribe during the past night, and that he replied: 'There is a case of pregnancy among us, but I cannot tell whether the birth has taken place or not' They continued: 'We have found in the Torathah that last night was the nativity of

[112] Shooting stars?

the prince of former and of latter times in the sacred valley, which will become the place of pilgrimage to Arabs and to foreigners; and verily that high banner and shining light has entered existence last night.' Hereon A'bd-ul-Muttalleb despatched someone to Aminah to make inquiries, and she replied: 'Last night I gave birth to an infant, circumcised, with his umbilical string cut, looking as if he had been washed of the impurities adhering to infants. A light shone from him which illuminated the world, as I had seen in my sleep. He came to the ground without my feeling any pain or distress, and pointed with his finger to heaven; whereon I received the injunction from above to keep him concealed for three days.' When this news was brought to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, the Jewish U'lâma exclaimed: 'God is great! the prediction of the Torathah has been fulfilled!' Hereon A'bd-ul-Muttalleb entered the house, renewed his inquiries, obtained the same information, sat down in a room to receive the congratulations of his friends, and slaughtered several camels for the purpose of feasting his guests. Being asked what name his grandson was to receive, he said: 'Muhammad.'[113] And being told that none of his ancestors bore that name, he replied: 'I wanted him to be praised in heaven and on earth.' After three days he went to the house of Aminah, took possession of the lord of prophecy, carried him to the Ka'bah, and, prostrating him in front of it, on the palms of his hands, said:

Verses: Praise be to Allah, who gave me
This nice and handsome boy,
I take refuge in the house with buttresses
Against the followers of Satan,
Against the evils of sorcerers,
Against envious disturbers and rebels.

After reciting these verses A'bd-ul-Muttalleb took the lord of prophecy back to Aminah's house, recommended him to her care, and said: 'A high destiny is in store for this child.'

A'li, son of Ebrâhim, son of Hâshem, relates that there

[113] Meaning praiseworthy, laudable.

was a Jewish priest in Mekkah called Yusuf, who entered the assembly of the Qoraish on the day after the prophet's birth, and asked whether a child had been born last night to anyone among them, and was told that such had been the case with A'bd-ul-Muttalleb. Hereon Yusuf wanted to see the infant, was taken to the house of Aminah, and his lordship was shown to him, wrapped in swaddling clothes. The Jew looked at his blessed eyes and between his shoulders, fell suddenly to the ground, and was entirely changed in appearance. The Qoraish present laughed at him, but Yusuf replied: 'You rail at me, O men of the Qoraish! But I swear by God that this is the prophet, endued with the scimitar, who will destroy you; and the fame of his having vanquished you will spread to the eastern and western regions of the world; now also the privilege of hăving prophets will be removed from the children of Esrâil.' And this news spread in Mekkah.

Hasân, the son of Thâbet, said: 'I was seven or eight years old, when one morning a Jew shouted in Madinah: "Assemble, O ye Jews!" Whereon all congregated, and said: "Woe to thee, what is the matter?" He exclaimed: "The star of Ahmed, who was born last night, has risen!"' Hasân further reported that this Jew lived to enjoy the honour of seeing the prophet, but never professed the faith on account of his [predestined] misery:

Verses: Who can acquire luck by force?
Who can cure blindness with collyrium?
A mirror can be cleansed of rust,
But who will make a mirror of a stone?

Hasân also narrates that one morning he stood on a hillock and heard a voice, louder than any which had ever struck his ears; and that, looking more attentively, he perceived a Jew with a fire-brand in his hand and shouting. The people gathered around him and inquired for the cause of his doing this, whereon he exclaimed: 'The luminary of Ahmed has arisen, which is a star, the reason for the appearance whereof is no other than the birth of a prophet, none of whom is to come hereafter except Ahmed!'

Hasân, however, also narrates that at these words the people burst our laughing. When this news reached Abu Qais, son of A'da, who had abandoned idolatry, he said: 'He has spoken the truth, because the time of the promulgation of Ahmed's religion is at hand, on account of which I am wearing these garments.' This he said because, after he had left off worshipping images, he always wore a black dress. He further said: 'I hope I shall live to become acquainted with his lordship, and believe in him.' Accordingly, when his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—commenced to propagate his religion in Mekkah, Abu Qais heard of it in Madinah, and became a believer; but when that prince came there, Abu Qais had become very decrepit.

It is related that a Jew said to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb: 'O prince of Battha, has the infant about whom I spoke formerly been born last night?' Receiving an affirmative reply, he asked what name had been given to the child, and was told that it was Muhammad. Then the Jew said: 'There are three signs of his prophecy: first, the rising of the Muhammadan star; second, that his name is Muhammad; and third, that he is a member of the most noble family—*i.e.*, your own.'

Explanation of the Equalization of the Mansions, and of the August Horoscope of him who is beloved by the Everlasting Immortal One.

As it will be recorded in the description of the horoscope of the prince of beings in what mansions various stars were situated at that time, it will be proper in this place to premise that the sphere of spheres has been divided into twelve equal portions, called mansions, each of which in its turn consists of thirty degrees. Any degree rising in the east at the moment of a man's birth on the horizon of the place of his birth is called the degree of his ascendant, and the mansion wherein this degree is goes by the name of the mansion of the ascendant of his nativity, used in

casting his horoscope. The ecliptic is divided into twelve signs [of the zodiac].

The other division is into six great circles, one of which is the horizon, and the other the meridian; the remaining ones are inclined, and each of them is from half the eastern nocturnal arc in the ascendant divided into three equal parts, which is a well-known method. All circles passing through the north and south pole intersect also on the meridian. The horizon and the meridian are each divided into twelve equal parts, which method is called 'Markaz mukhaffifah' [lightened centre].

The import of the twelve houses [mansions] is as follows: The first refers to the body, soul, and life of the infant. The second to his property, means, and auxiliaries. The third to sect, religion, to short journeys, to brothers and sisters, and to all relatives. The fourth to the termination of affairs, to landed property, and houses. The fifth to children, loved ones, to gifts, messages, and embassies. The sixth to slaves and servants, and to the maladies of his cattle. The seventh to wives, partners, and enemies turning up against him. The eighth to death, inheritance, fever, danger, and to lost property. The ninth to a distant journey, to science, to stories, to dreams, and to his house. The tenth to dignity, nobility, and exquisite circumstances. The eleventh is the mansion of hopes and friends. The twelfth is the mansion of great quadrupeds and of enemies harbouring guile in their hearts; lastly of fetters and poison.

It is well known to astrologers that the position of a star may be singular, according to its mansion. Thus, for instance, it may be in the tenth mansion, but according to the equalization in the ninth or eleventh house. The author has cast the horoscope of an individual, some of the stars being in the eleventh mansion, but according to the equalization in the ninth; this, however, is a rare case. That cruel man's name was A'bd-ul-Fattâh, who accordingly suffered, during the reign of the present monarch of Islam—may Allah perpetuate his sway—capital punish-

ment for a crime he had committed. Some persons of this class still survive, and it is hoped that the same fate will overtake them.

The object of this preamble having been accomplished, we here state that several astronomical observers well acquainted with the niceties of such calculations have, after authenticating them, ascertained that the joy-bringing ascendant of his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—was in the twentieth degree of Capricorn, and that from the position of this mansion on the horizon, the evidence whereof suffers no contradiction, the place of nativity and the fact became known that his powerful religion will from day to day, till the last judgment, increase, and be confirmed in its high dignity. The position of the regent of the ascendant—*i.e.*, of Saturn or of Jupiter, who is the source of happiness—in the mansion of the Scorpion—*i.e.*, the eleventh, wherein the august ascendant was situated—means that every material or spiritual advantage, or imaginary and real felicity, covered by the possessor of this nativity, will be easily and readily obtained without the trouble of expectation. The world-illuminating sun had taken its noblest position in Aries, which is the fourth ascendant, in order to promulge the situation of his high prospects to the Arabs and to foreigners; the being of Mars in that place with the sun was a sign that whoever disobeys his prophetic lordship will be laid low by the scimitar of wrath. The lovely Venus was in Pisces, its mansion of honour with Mercury—known to astronomers as the patron of rhetorics—embracing each other, and announcing in eloquent strains that the possessor of this ascendant will become the noblest blessing of religions and beliefs. The moon, by whose means[114] memorable events take place in the upper and the nether worlds, had taken her position in the first degree of the Balance, which is the tenth mansion [or sign of the zodiac], as an evidence that the memorials of his religion and institutions will fill the length and breadth of the earth. The head [of the moon?],

[114] As the representative of time?

which means augmentation, was in Gemini, its noblest place—*i.e.*, the sixth mansion, which, as has already been stated, refers to servants and slaves—to indicate that the nations will become obedient to him; and the tail [of the moon?], which portends loss and misery, selected the twelfth place, so that no land may be left in the inhabited quarter of the earth for the enemies of the founder of the illustrious religion to dwell in.

Some chroniclers ascribe the just-mentioned astronomical data to Abu Moa'shar, who was, during the reigns of several Khalifahs of the Abbasside dynasty, one of their astronomers. The same chroniclers, though they relate that the blessed ascendant of his lordship the prophet was in the constellation of Capricorn, nevertheless maintain in their writings that his august birth took place when the the Mountain-goat [*sic*] was rising.[115] This, however, is an evident mistake, because, according to the universal consensus of mathematical scholars, the Mountain-goat, which is one of the lucky mansions of the moon, pertains to the Balance, and not to Capricorn; therefore this error may, perhaps, be attributed to the transcriber, but Allah knows best!

Other astronomers relate that the sign of the Balance was the joyful ascendant of his lordship, and that the Sun, Venus, and Mercury were in Scorpio according to the equalization of the ascendant; and Mars in Cancer, and the moon in Leo. The author has been informed by an excellent individual celebrated for his knowledge of astronomy, that the horoscope of his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—has been rectified as a model because only the night, and not the precise time of the birth, was known, which agreed with the twentieth degree of Capricorn, as stated above. Saturn and Jupiter were in the third degree of Scorpio, Mars in the twentieth of Cancer, and the moon in the eighteenth of the same sign. The sun and Venus were in Taurus, and Mercury in Aries.

It is plain to the mind of every unprejudiced reader that

[115] This is no doubt the name of a star or constellation.

whatever has been here related concerning the observations on the horoscope of the holy individual to whom the allocution *Lao lâkâ*[116] was addressed, is based on the axioms of those who consider the destinies of all human beings to depend upon the positions of the celestial bodies. Those who have acquired certainty in spiritual matters say that:

Distich · He who from old enjoyed the favour of the Lord
Has all the celestial bodies to obey his behests.

The author is in possession of a distich pertaining to the replica of the ballad called 'The Sea of the Righteous,' which he considers proper to insert in this place.

Distich · Whoever can prognosticate from the upper bodies good or evil,
Though he be Abu Moa'shar, is himself unlucky and evil.

THE SUCKLING OF HIS LORDSHIP THE REFUGE OF PROPHECY —U. W. B.—HIS BEING CARRIED BY HALIMAH TO THE TRIBE BANI SA'AD, AND THE CURIOUS THINGS WHICH HAPPENED.

All the chief historians agree that first Aminah, and then Nubiah—the slave-girl of Abu Lahab and wet-nurse of his son Masruh, and before him of Hamzah, son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb—suckled his lordship the prophet, and when the daughter of Hamzah was [afterwards] offered to him in marriage, he said. 'She is not lawful for me, because she is the daughter of my [milk-] brother.'

With reference to the sucking, it is said that when the news of the birth of his lordship the refuge of prophecy had reached Abu Lahab he manumitted Nubiah, and on account of this act, and in conformity with the day of the week on which he performed it, the punishment of Abu Lahab[117] is alleviated every Monday night. There is a tradition that after the decease of the last-mentioned individual, A'bbâs, the son of A'bd-ul Muttalleb, once saw him

[116] See footnote 37, but it may here be added that the *Hadithi : Quds*, or sacred tradition in which the expression occurs, purports to be a collection of the words which were brought to Muhammad by Gabriel as coming from the mouth of God

[117] In hell-fire.

in a dream, and asked him how he did, and what Abu Lahab replied: 'I am being constantly tormented, except every Monday night, because I liberated Nubiah at that time; then my punishment is relented, and water is given me between two fingers—*i.e.*, the index and the middle finger.'

It is recorded in chronicles that after his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had been married, Nubiah came to the house of Khodaijah, and was kindly treated by her, as well as by the prophet, who even sent her presents after his exile [from Mekkah]; but she died after the victory of Honain, and the U'lâma disagree whether she ever made her profession of Islâm or not.

After Nubiah had for some time suckled his lordship, Halimah, the daughter of Abu Duib attained that happiness, and took him to the tribe of the Bani Sa'ad, which happened as follows: The nobles of the sanctuary and the Qoraish princes were accustomed, either on account of the heat of the climate of Mekkah, or for the purpose of keeping their wives entirely at their own disposal, to surrender their infants to nurses, and to send them into the country to be suckled in places distinguished for the pleasantness of the air and the salubrity of their water. As the advantages to be obtained in this manner from the Qoraish nobles were considerable, a number of women from the surrounding country made their appearance in Mekkah during every spring and autumn, took charge of the infants of wealthy and noble families, and carried them to their own homes. Before the arrival of the women of the Bani Sa'ad and of Halimah in Mekkah to receive children to be nursed in that tribe, a great dearth and famine was raging in it, so that no milk existed in the breasts of the women; all the grass had perished, and the people were enfeebled by hunger; even the camels ceased to give milk. Halimah says: 'In that year we wandered about the desert eating grass, and thanking Allah for it. Once, however, we had nothing to eat during three days, and contorted ourselves from hunger. It happened that the pains which hunger caused to me were intensified by those of

parturition, and I knew not which of the two complaints was greater. Occasionally I had fainting-fits, during which I was unable to discern the earth from the sky; I fell, however, into a slumber, and beheld during it a man, who took me up and plunged me into a water whiter than milk, saying: "Drink much that thy milk may increase." I obeyed, but he encouraged me more and more to drink of that beverage, which tasted sweeter than honey. At last he said: "Halimah, knowest thou me?" and on my replying in the negative, he continued: "I am that praise and gratitude which thou hast uttered in thy distress and misery. Halimah, go to Battha, where thou wilt meet with affluence and prosperity, and whence thou wilt bring with thee a shining light." He enjoined secrecy on this subject, and placing his hands on my breast, continued: "May God augment thy milk, and give thee abundant food!" When I awoke I found my breasts full of milk, and my pangs of hunger had likewise ceased, though the young and the old of our tribe greatly suffered from them, and the following distich represents the state of affairs at that time:

Distich: Besides the smoke of the afflicted
No other smoke was seen on the hearths.

'After that wonderful dream I was entirely changed, so that my face appeared quite blooming and handsome to the women of our tribe, and everyone who saw me exclaimed: "O Halimah, thy case is really wonderful, for yesterday we saw thee extremely weak and emaciated, but to-day thou lookest like a princess or the daughter of a king." But as I had been ordered not to reveal what had happened, I remained silent. On this occasion we started with some men of our tribe to Battha and Mekkah, and as we were halting at or departing from various places, an invisible herald proclaimed the words: "The Lord has prohibited the women to bring girls this year, on account of the joyful advent of the infant who was born in the tribe of Qoraish; and blessed are the paps that will suckle him. O women of the tribe of Sa'ad, make haste, and let each

of you take a boy!" Accordingly all the women proceeded to the sanctury, I and my husband accompanying them. I had an emaciated donkey, scarcely able to walk, and a weak she-camel, from which no stratagem could elicit a single drop of milk; thus we straggled after the caravan, which we were, in spite of all our efforts, unable to reach. Nevertheless, as we slowly walked on, I experienced many strange things. Thus, for instance, wherever I passed, I heard a voice saying: "Blessed are thy breasts; for that shining light will drink their milk;" and I further beheld a white man of tall stature shouting to me from the top of a mountain: "O Halimah, make haste, because Allah the Most High has ordered me to keep off Satan from thee."' In some chronicles it is related that Halimah said: 'In the gap of a mountain a person appeared to me, tall like a palm-tree, holding in his hand a dagger of light, who drew his hand over the abdomen of my donkey, and said: "O Halimah, the Lord has sent thee glad tidings, and has ordered me to ward off from thee devils and evil spirits." I asked my husband whether he had seen anything; he, however, replied in the negative, and told me he thought that I was frightened; after this we hastened on, till we arrived at the distance of two Farsakhs from Mekkah.' In other legends we read that Halimah said: 'That night I dreamt that over my head there was a green tree with many branches, among which I also beheld a palm, heavy with various kinds of fresh dates. All the women of the tribe of Sa'ad assembled around me, and said: "Halimah, thou art our queen!" whereon suddenly a date fell from that tree into my lap. Taking it up, and tasting it, I found it to be more sweet than honey; nor did that sweetness depart from me till the time when Muhammad separated from me.' Halimah also said: 'On the Monday after the arrival of the women of the Bani Sa'ad we reached Mekkah. On that day my child neither drank milk nor moved, so that I informed my husband, telling him that it had perhaps died; that moment, however, it opened its eyes and laughed into my face. I was astonished, left my

infant in that place, and went abroad to get hold of a baby to suckle; the more, however, I sought, the less I was able to find one, because the other women of my tribe had forestalled me and obtained the infants of the wealthy families of the Qoraish. In this emergency I became much distressed and grieved, repented of having come, and was venting my spleen, when I perceived all of a sudden a man, from whose forehead the signs of nobility were beaming, arrive and inquire whether any wet-nurses were yet here that had not taken infants to suckle.' Halimah continued: 'Inquiring for his name and position, I was told that he was A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, the prince of the Qoraish; accordingly I approached him and presented myself. He asked me who I was, whereon I informed him that I was of the tribe Bani Sa'ad and that my name was Halimah. He replied: "Felicity [Sa'ad] and meekness [Halam] are two sweet good qualities which cause eternal salvation." Then he continued: "I have an infant orphan, Muhammad by name, whom I offered to all the women of the Bani Sa'ad, but they replied: 'He has no father, and no profit results from an orphan;' I hope, however, thou wilt take him." I replied that I would go and consult my husband; A'bd-ul-Muttalleb consented, and when I explained the matter to my husband the Almighty filled his heart with joy, and he exclaimed: "Halimah, make haste and take the child, lest others should make away therewith." But my cousin said: "Alas! the women of the Bani Sa'ad have taken the infants of noble and wealthy people, and have thus obtained riches and honours, and thou hast taken an orphan child, which will only become an occasion of more sorrow to you."' Halimah continued: 'These words shook my firmness, but immediately the revelation dawned upon my mind: "If thou abandonest Muhammad thou wilt never be happy." I therefore ran to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb and asked for the boy. He immediately prostrated himself, and after raising his head exclaimed: "O Lord, make this woman a blessing to Muhammad" Then he took me to the house

of Aminah, whose face I beheld shining like the moon. She smiled at me and showed me her infant, whose countenance was radiant like the world-illuminating sun. I was so excited by his beauty and attractiveness that milk began suddenly to flow in my veins. I placed the nipple of my right breast into his mouth, and he began immediately to suck it; but when I presented to him my left breast he refused to do so.' Ebn A'bbâs says that even at that time the sense of justice was so great in his lordship that he left the other breast for the use of his partner. Halimah says: 'During the whole time his lordship always took milk only from my right breast, and whenever I desired to wipe his blessed lips after he had done sucking, I was forestalled in that act from the invisible world; nor would my son take the nipple into his mouth until the prince of the world had finished. In short, my husband, having perceived the beauty of his lordship, fell on his face in adoration, and said: "O Halimah, I have never seen a more handsome boy among the children of men." When the night set in, I perceived a light shining from his beauty; I also saw a man dressed in green standing at his pillow. Therefore I awakened my husband from sleep, who was greatly amazed at this sight, enjoined me not to reveal it to anyone, and said: "Because this infant was born, the Jewish priests and Christian U'lâma are day and night uneasy and disquieted; but we shall return wealthy to our home." During the week we remained in Mekkah, we went every day to the house of Aminah, who entertained us with the narratives of the events that had taken place during her pregnancy, and at the time of her confinement. When we departed to our home we took leave of her; I mounted our donkey and took Muhammad in front of me. The donkey capered, raised his head skywards, placed it thrice on the ground, returned, and joyfully left Mekkah, so that he took in the journey the lead of all the others. The women of the Bani Sa'ad were astonished, and exclaimed: "O Halimah, is this the same donkey who had no strength to walk when we journeyed to

Mekkah, and who was the hindmost of all? A secret is in this, and something great is in store for thee." I overheard the donkey saying to himself: "By Allah! it is a great matter that I have been revived, and have acquired strength. Ye women of the Bani Sa'ad, are you aware whom I am carrying? I am the bearer of Muhammad, the apostle of the Lord of the universe, upon whom the joy of this world and the light of the next depend!" During that journey I also heard the words: "O Halimah, thou hast been favoured in the latter part of thy life, and hast become the noblest among the women of the Bani Sa'ad." We passed a flock of sheep, and on seeing me they approached me, whereon I heard a voice among them, saying: "May thy eye be bright, O Halimah! Knowest thou who thy suckling is? He is Muhammad, the apostle of the Lord of both worlds!"' Halimah says: 'In every stage we alighted we found plenty of water; grass and fruit-trees sprang into existence by the power of Allah, and during that journey I witnessed so many strange and wonderful events that the tongue of eloquence is unable to record them. When we arrived in the country of the Bani Sa'ad, it looked parched and without grass, other sheep returned home without milk, but ours, which had before been sickly and emaciated, had now grown healthy and fat; when they came home every evening from their pasturages they were replete with food and milk. whilst quite the contrary was the case with the sheep belonging to other people. When the men of the tribe became aware of this great difference, and saw our meadows full of water and grass, but theirs dry and parched, they complained to their chiefs that our cattle were grazing in their pasturages. It is related that for this reason the Lord blessed also the flocks of the whole tribe, and as long as Muhammad—u. w. b.—was among us, many benefits redounded on the tribe, because of the favour of his presence.'

Halimah says: 'Muhammad never answered the calls of nature in his clothes, but had an evacuation every day at a

fixed time, and whenever I intended to wash his body I found it pure and clean. Nor did that infant hate anything more than to have his limbs bared, but cried and became angry every time such a thing took place, until they were again covered. Otherwise he never wept, nor showed signs of bad humour, so that everyone who saw him fell in love with him. One night I awoke and heard him pronouncing the following words, better ones than which do not exist: "There is no God but Allah the Most Holy as long as eyes endure, the Merciful One who is not overtaken by slumber or sleep!" and these were his first words. From the time he began to speak he never handled anything without saying: "In the name of Allah." Nor did he ever touch anything with his left hand. From reverence for his lordship I never performed my ablutions in his presence. In one day he grew as much as others in a week, and in a week as much as others in a month, and in a month as much as other children grew in a year; that is to say, his growth could not be compared with that of any other child. Every day a light resembling sunshine descended, covered, and again left him visible. By the blessing of his propitious advent the Lord and Bestower of all good gifts vouchsafed many favours to us. Our sheep and harvests were increased, and the people were in need of our help. When the boy was two years old and quite strong, I carried him to Aminah, and as we were most anxious to retain him, I said to his mother that, as I had no confidence in the climate of Mekkah, it would be better to allow us to take the child back again, and we insisted so much and long on this point that Aminah at last complied with our request. We joyfully returned with the boy to our home, and the Divine favours augmented from day to day, so that we were at the head of the whole tribe.'

The author observes that the events of his lordship's life up to the time of the scission of his breast are narrated in voluminous books, composed by authors of former and of latter times down to our days; but Allah knows best what is correct.

Scission of the Breast of that Prince of Exalted Dignity.

Halimah said that he had two milk-brothers who went every day into the desert to pasture the sheep, and that when his lordship was three years old he said to her: 'How is it that I have not seen my brothers these two days?' She replied: 'During the day they are engaged in pasturing the sheep.' He queried further: 'Why sendest thou not me with them?' She answered: 'No doubt thou wishest to be in their company.' Accordingly, she combed his hair next morning, inserted collyrium into his blessed eyes, dressed him in a robe, and tied a string of Yaman shells round his blessed neck to avert the evil eye; but he immediately tore it off, threw it away, and said: 'He who is my guardian will be with me!' Sending him away with his [milk-] brothers, she enjoined them to take care of him, but about noon her son Zobeir came running in great distress and bathed in perspiration, exclaiming: 'O mother, rescue Muhammad—u. w. b.—but I believe thou wilt not be able to reach him.' She asked what had happened, and he continued: 'Two men, dressed in green, came from the sky, took him away from us to the top of the mountain, ripped open his abdomen, and they are still with him.' Halimah says: 'I, my husband, and several women of my tribe, ran helter-skelter to the meadow, and saw him standing on the top of the mountain, looking towards heaven. My husband asked him what had happened, and he replied as follows: "Two men alighted from the atmosphere, brought a vase full of snow-water, laid me down, opened my abdomen, and ripped up my breast. They took from it a small black grain, washed it with snow-water, and filled it with light. Then they passed their hands over my body, whereon it became again as it was before."' With reference to this matter there is also a tradition that Halimah said: 'When my son Zobeir informed me that two men had borne Muhammad to the mountain, and had opened his breast, I immediately ran

with my husband to the spot, where we beheld him sitting and looking around, and when his eyes alighted on me he smiled. I kissed his head and eyes, saying: "May my life be sacrificed for thee; tell me what has happened." He rejoined: "I was standing with my brothers, when all of a sudden three" '—but according to another tradition two— '"men made their appearance, dressed in white garments. One of them had a silver pitcher, and the other a plate of green emerald in his hand. They took me away from my brethren and carried me to the top of the mountain. One of them ripped open my breast down to the abdomen, without my feeling any pain. Then he introduced his hands into the cavity and extracted my bowels, washed them with snow-water, and again replaced them. After this the second individual arose, and said to his companion: 'Go away, for thou hast done thy duty.' Then the second person took out my heart, halved it, and removed therefrom a black point enveloped in gore, which he threw away, and said: 'This is the writing of Satan.' Thereupon he filled my heart with something he had brought, and I had never seen anything more tender or fragrant than that substance."'

Halimah reports that the prince of this world said: 'They weighed me first against ten men, but I preponderated; then with five hundred, and I preponderated; then with five thousand, and I again preponderated. Then one of them said to the other: "Let him alone. If he be balanced with the whole nation he will preponderate." Hereon they left me, flew away, and went to heaven.' Halimah says: 'When I brought Muhammad back to the house, the people said: "He ought to be taken to a soothsayer, because he is touched by the genii."[118] But Muhammad replied: "I am free, and safe from what you imagine, nor has anything befallen me." The people, nevertheless, insisted so much that we were obliged to comply. After we had stated the circumstances to the sorcerer, he desired the boy himself to explain them, as he was more familiar with them [than we could be]. When

[118] He is mad.

Muhammad—u. w. b.—had narrated the event, the soothsayer jumped up, pressed him to his breast, and exclaimed: "O Arab people, put him to death and me also. For if he remains alive he will consider your wise men to be fools, and will abolish your religion. He will invite you to worship a God whom you do not know, and to profess a religion contrary to your own."' Halimah says: 'When I heard these words I snatched Muhammad from his arms, and said: "Thou art a fool! Had I known that thou wouldst utter such sentiments I would not have brought the child. Find a man to kill thee, for we shall not slay Muhammad." Accordingly, I took him home; nor did we pass any house of the Bani Sa'ad which did not exhale the odour of musk. After this strange event the father of my children [*i.e.*, my husband] and all my relatives advised me to return with Muhammad to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, lest a misfortune should befall him.'

'When we had determined to go to Mekkah, I heard a voice exclaiming every night: "Prosperity, blessings, and security are departing from the country of the Bani Sa'ad! Hail to you, Battha and Mekkah, as long as an individual like thee, O Muhammad, sojourneth there! O best of men, as soon as Mekkah becomes thy abode, the inhabitants of the sanctuary will be preserved and protected from calamities!"' Halimah said further: 'I mounted a beast, and seating Muhammad—u. w. b.—in front of me, watched him incessantly whilst I heard awful voices on all sides. When I arrived at the gate of Mekkah I alighted, and necessarily likewise took down Muhammad—u. w. b., etc.; on that occasion a small white cloud descended and I heard wonderful sounds. When I had terminated my business, I looked around, but could not see Muhammad, whereon I began to lament so bitterly that young and old took pity on me. An old man asked me for the cause of my grief, and I swore by the God of Ebrâhim that if I could not see Muhammad I would precipitate myself down from the mountain; but the old man replied: "Weep not, but enter the idol-temple and beseech Hobal to restore thy

child," but I replied: "O decrepit old man, hast thou not heard what happened to Lât and to U'zza on the night of his birth?

Hemistich: "U'zza had no honour, and Lât no power."

The old man continued: "Woman, thy great distress makes thee speak nonsense! I shall enter and intercede, that he may again restore thy child." The foolish old man went to Hobal, and after praising him as is the fashion of idolaters, he continued: "This woman of the Bani Sa'ad says that she lost Muhammad, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb;[119] restore him to her if it so pleaseth thee; for she bemoans him as lost." As soon as that misguided individual had pronounced these words Hobal fell prostrate on his face, and from the cavity of his statue the words were heard: "What have I to do with Muhammad, who will be the cause of our destruction? and Allah the Most High and Glorious, who alone is to be worshipped, will not abandon him. Tell the idolaters that he is the *great sacrifice;* that is to say, he will kill all, except those who will be so fortunate as to follow him."' Halimah says: 'When the little old man came out from the temple he exclaimed: "I have never experienced anything like this from Hobal! Call thy son, for a great destiny is in store for him." When I despaired of finding Muhammad, I was forsooth compelled to disclose the circumstance to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who immediately ascended Mount Safa and assembled the Qoraish, but they were unable to find the child, although they searched all the places in and around Mekkah. After being thus disappointed, A'bd-ul-Muttalleb entered the mosque of the sanctuary alone, circumambulated it seven times, and heard the following words: "Muhammad—u. w. b.—has a God who will not cause him to be lost." A'bd-ul-Muttalleb answered: "O herald, where is Muhammad?" Whereon he heard the reply: "He is sitting under a tree in the Wadi Tahamah." A'bd-ul-Muttalleb immediately armed himself, proceeded

[119] Here, and in a few other passages Muhammad is called the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, his grandfather.

in that direction, and met on his road Waraqah Bin Naufil, who joined him in the search after Muhammad, and they discovered his lordship reclining under a myrtle-tree.' There is another tradition that Masu'd Thaqfi and A'mru Bin Naufil found his lordship the seal of prophecy sitting under a myrtle-tree gathering the leaves thereof, and that A'mru asked him: "Who art thou?" And he received the answer: "I am Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb." When they had taken him back, and the eyes of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb were illuminated by the aspect of the prince of creatures—u. w. b.—he bestowed much gold and innumerable camels on deserving persons, and presented Halimah with many gifts, whereon she returned joyfully to her home.

It is necessary to remind the reader that numerous legends exist concerning the scission of the breast, as well as about the time and manner in which Halimah restored his lordship to Aminah, all of which are recorded in chronicles, but could find no place in this abridgment, wherefore only that which the ancient U'lama have related on these subjects has been here inserted.

Events from the Fourth till the Thirteenth Year after the Birth of his Prophetic Lordship—u. w. b.

There is a tradition that his lordship remained four years before his weaning, and after it in the tribe of the Bani Sa'ad Bin Bakar, and that when Halimah returned with him in his fourth year to Aminah, the latter said: 'Take him back to thy tribe; for I dread the climate of Mekkah.' Halimah, being highly pleased with this proposal on account of the benefits connected with his blessed presence, assented. When he was four years old, the scission of the breast took place, Halimah again brought his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—to Mekkah, related the event to Aminah, and returned with that prince to her tribe. After she had attended upon him about one year more, his lordship occasionally disappeared from her sight, and

Halimah, getting frightened by this circumstance, carried him to Mekkah, where she restored him to his mother.

Abu Hâzum says that when his lordship was in his fifth year, Halimah took him to Mekkah on a visit to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and that when one of the sorcerers saw him there he said: 'O Arab people, kill this boy, for on his attaining manhood he will disperse and destroy you all.' A'bd-ul-Muttalleb kept him concealed from the people, because all the Qoraish were afraid of and on their guard against him. In the sixth year of his age Aminah took his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—with Omm Aiman to Madinah to visit her father and relatives, and they spent one month in the place called Dâr-un-nâba'ah. When the party had returned from Madinah to the just-mentioned place, Aminah departed from this perishable world and was buried there. When Omm Aiman arrived in Mekkah with his lordship, A'bd-ul-Muttalleb took him in his arms, greatly deplored the loss of Aminah, and took him under his own care. Whether the boy was awake or asleep, he often looked at him and said: 'This child will become a governor and a commander.'

In the seventh year of his age some individuals of the Bani Madih, who excelled in the art of predicting future events from external appearances, said to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb: 'Take proper care of this boy, for we have seen no footmark more resembling that which is in the place of Ebrâhim[120] than his own.' Hereon A'bd-ul-Muttalleb said to Abu Tâleb: 'Listen to what these people are saying!' He also enjoined Omm Aiman to guard Muhammad—u. w. b.—carefully, telling her that the Jews and Christians considered him to be the future prophet of Arabia. During this year A'bd-ul-Muttalleb took him with himself to supplicate for rain, and by the blessing of his advent the desires of the Qoraish were gratified. This event took place as follows, according to the tradition of Raqiah, the daughter of Abu Sana'i, the cousin of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb: 'During consecutive years such a great scarcity had con-

[120] See footnote 109.

tinued among the rich and the poor inhabitants of Mekkah, that of harvests, only the name, and of breasts only the marks, remained.[121] When distress and misery were at their extremity, and I was in a state between sleep and wakefulness, I heard the following words pronounced by an invisible herald: "O tribe of the Qoraish, the time is at hand when the prophet of the latter days will make his appearance. On his account you will be provided with salubrious food and fertilizing showers. Look out among yourselves for a great man of tall stature, white limbs, high nose, open forehead, long eyelashes, and of noble descent. Tell him to take his son from among the people, and a man from each tribe; all of them having washed and perfumed themselves, they must together circumambulate the Ka'bah seven times, and go in the company of the just-described individual to Mount Abuqbis, where he must offer prayers, his associates saying 'Amen,' till the rain arrives."' Raqiah continues: 'In the morning I arose with fear and trembling, and everyone to whom I related what I had heard, said: "By the holiness of the sanctuary, that man is A'bd-ul-Muttalleb." When this news spread the people surrounded the last-named individual, and a man from each tribe having purified himself, they performed the circumambulation together. Then A'bd-ul-Muttalleb took his lordship on his back, raised his hands in prayer, and said: "O Granter of requests, Remover of difficulties, and Restrainer of grief, this assembly consists of Thy male and female servants who are the guardians of Thy sanctuary. They are complaining of the famine and distress which have reduced their sheep and camels to the verge of starvation, and to the extremity of annihilation. O Allah, send rain which will make grass grow, and cause us to remain alive." The person to whom this tradition is ascribed further says: "I swear by the Almighty that we had not yet thought of returning, when the rain began to pour in such a manner that all the rivers commenced to flow. The princes of the Qoraish, such as A'bdullah Bin

[121] Exsiccated udders.

Juda'an, Shehâb Bin Moghairah, and others, all turned to A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, saying: "O father of Battha, thanks to thee for this blessing!"'

During the seventh year of the age of the lord of prophecy—u. w. b.—A'bd-ul-Muttalleb died, as also Naushirvàn the just, and Hâtim Tài, who need not be described. After the decease of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, Abu Tâleb took charge of his lordship, and for the great love he bore towards him he could not be without him for a single moment. During the night he made him sleep by his side, and in the day he fed him on delicious victuals. Whenever the family and relatives of Abu Tâleb dined in the company of his lordship the prophet—u. w. b.—they satisfied their hunger, and the food nevertheless superabounded; but when they had a repast without him the food was all consumed; they, however, remained hungry as before. Abu Tâleb considered his existence as a blessing, and preferred him to his own offspring. The great attachment of Abu Taleb for, and his close connection with, his lordship before the prophecy and after the mission had begun will, however, become evident during the course of the present work, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

Events from the Thirteenth till the Twenty-fifth Year after the August Birth.

Historians have related that in the beginning of the thirteenth year after the august birth of his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—Abu Taleb intended to depart on a mercantile journey to Syria, without informing the prince of the world. According to a tradition, his lordship took hold of the bridle of Abu Tâleb's camel on the day of his departure, and said: 'O uncle, leavest thou me in Mekkah, and I have neither father nor mother?' Abu Tâleb, moved by these words, replied: 'By Allah! I shall take him with me, and do not consider it proper to separate from him.' There is another tradition that he saw on that day Muhammad weeping, and asked the cause of it, but the

prince of existences—u. w. b.—remaining silent, Abu Tâleb continued: 'This crying is probably because I am not taking thee?' His lordship the prophet replied in the affirmative, whereon Abu Tâleb swore an oath that he would never abandon him. Accordingly, they started together with the caravan of the Qoraish, and travelled till they were but two farsakhs distant from Missr, and alighted in the vicinity of the cell of the hermit Bahira,[122] who was one of the Christian U'lâma, much respected for his asceticism and piety. He had ascertained from the heavenly books that the seal of prophets—u. w. b.—would be known by certain signs, and would, on a certain occasion, by his blessed arrival in that region, cause it to be envied by the denizens of paradise. In a village, Kufr by name, there was a hermitage, wherein he who was the most excellent of the monks of the period used to offer prayers. Bahira was the model of the ascetics of that epoch, and had, with a view of being honoured by an acquaintance with the seal of prophets, made that hermitage his chapel. On account of the absence of the signs announcing the advent of the prophet of latter times, he took no notice of caravans and of travellers, and on account of his perfect absorption in his devotions at the Court of Unity he had no intercourse with strangers, but was constantly engaged in watching for the signs, in order to be made happy by waiting upon his lordship. On the day when the propitious caravan was coming up from the rear of the hill, Bahira threw a glance on it from the roof of his cell, and perceived that on account of the intense heat of the sun a cloud was overshadowing the caravan, and was simultaneously travelling therewith, and also that a tree and block of clay which were on the road made prostrations to a certain individual of the caravan.

There is a tradition that when the caravan emerged from

[122] He is known by European authors as the Monk Sergius. He is also called Abu Amir, and Dr. Sprenger has collected many traditions about him under the heading of 'Bahira Legende,' in his 'Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad,' vol. i., p. 178, *seq.*

behind the hill, Bahira heard the trees and stones saying with a loud voice : 'Salutation to thee, O apostle of Allah !' When the caravan arrived in the vicinity of the hermitage and halted there, Abu Tâleb also alighted with his lordship, sat down under a tree, which became green and flourishing as soon as the cloud overshadowed it. When Bahira perceived what was taking place he was convinced that his prophetic lordship was in that company. Accordingly, he prepared a meal in haste, without allowing any one of the rich or the poor to enter the hermitage, but nevertheless invited the whole caravan to partake of the repast, and would not accept the refusal of anyone. Therefore, all the Qoraish assembled in the company of the monk, except the paragon of the family of A'bd Munâf, who had, on account of his youth, remained, by the advice of Abu Tâleb, on the spot where the caravan had halted. Bahira scrutinized the countenances of his guests and met with disappointment; but, ascending to the roof of the hermitage and looking at the above-mentioned clump of trees, he ascertained that the cloud was overshadowing the same tree as before. Therefore he came down and addressed the Qoraish as follows : 'I had requested the whole caravan to honour me with their presence, but I think some have refused to come.' They replied, however, that they had left no one behind except a youth of tender age, for the purpose of watching the goods. The monk continued : 'I beseech you to bring him also.'

Distich : The host laid a hundred covers for foes,
Hoping that one friend would come to the meal.

Hâreth, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, then hastened to call that ornament of the sphere of prophecy—u. w. b.—and when the sun of his joyful stature began to shine in that hermitage, all the surrounding places were illuminated by his august light. Bahira looked with great composure at his holy and prophetic individuality, whereon he perceived that the signs foretold in ancient books were realized in his person. When the whole caravan had finished the

meal and wished to rise, Bahira requested Abu Tâleb to remain, on account of the resemblance he had discovered, and asked: 'What is thy connection with this youth?'

Abu Tâleb: 'He is my son.'

Bahira: 'His father and mother must be dead.'

Abu Tâleb. 'He is my brother's son.'

Bahira: 'Thou hast spoken the truth.'

Then Bahira approached the best of existences, to examine and to try him, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with him, and of obtaining greater certainty.

Bahira: 'I adjure thee by Lât, and by U'zza, to answer truly every question I shall ask thee.'

Muhammad. 'Do not adjure me by these; for I hate nothing more than them.'

Bahira 'I ask thee by Allah!'

After this, Bahira questioned his prophetic lordship, and found all the replies agreeing with what he had learnt before [from the revealed books]. On asking him about sleeping, his lordship replied. 'My eyes sleep, but not my heart.' Then he looked at his blessed eyes, and asked Abu Tâleb, as well as some other intimate friends who were sitting near him, whether this redness of his eyes ever disappeared or not? But they said that they had never seen them without it. After this he desired for his own consolation to behold the seal of prophecy, which had in ancient books been designated as a characteristic sign of the last of prophets—u. w. b. Therefore he requested his holy prophetic lordship to bare the spot between his shoulders, but he refused on account of his great bashfulness. At last, however, after Bahira had much pressed him, and Abu Tâleb had interceded for the hermit, his lordship allowed his garment to be taken off; and when the monk beheld the seal of prophecy between the august shoulders of that prince, all the hair of his body bristled up from awe, and he was honoured by being allowed to kiss the spot of the seal, and said: 'This is the prince of the inhabitants of the worlds, who was given by Allah as a mercy to them.' When the Qoraish heard these words they

said that the monk appears to entertain a very high opinion of Muhammad.

It is related that after the above conversation Bahira said to Abu Tâleb: 'This youth is the last of prophets, the surface of whose law will be spread over the whole world, and whose solid religion will abrogate all former ones. Therefore thou must not take him to Syria, because the Jews are his enemies, and if they ascertain that he is the promised manifester [of the new religion] they will probably injure his person.' These words disquieted Abu Tâleb, and therefore he returned to Mekkah after he had sold his goods profitably in Missr. There is, however, a tradition that Abu Tâleb sent only his sacred and prophetic lordship back to Mekkah, and that he himself travelled on to Syria for the purpose of completing his mercantile transactions. It is also said that a company of Jews from Rûm,[123] who entertained the intention of murdering his sacred and prophetic lordship, had arrived at the hermitage of Bahira on the very day when he was feasting the caravan of the Qoraish, and had secretly said to Bahira: 'We have ascertained from celestial books that Muhammad will to-day alight in this place with a Qoraish caravan, and as we now intend to execute our design, thou must aid us therein.' Bahira, however, replied: 'If he be the individual described in the celestial books, you will not be able to kill him; and if he be another, there will be no use in doing so.' The Jews, having perceived the justness of this remark, gave up their intention.

It is said that after this journey to Missr, Abu Tâleb no more took his lordship the refuge of prophecy on any of his travels. Others, however, assert that when his lordship was in his seventeenth year Zobeir, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and according to another tradition A'bbâs, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, intended to trade in Yaman, and said to Abu Tâleb: 'We wish the blessing of Muhammad—u. w. b.—to redound also upon our enterprise, and therefore we beseech thee to allow him to accompany us in this

[123] The Byzantine dominions.

journey.' Abu Táleb complied with the request of his brothers, and sent the princely descendant of Adam, with his uncle, to Yaman, where innumerable miracles were witnessed during the journey in connection with the person of the chief of prophets and greatest of saints.

During this year Hormuz, the son of Naushirvân, was dethroned, and his world-embracing eyes were lanced.[124] In the nineteenth year after the propitious birth [of Muhammad], Khosru Parviz, the son of Hormuz, was installed on the throne. In the twentieth year Sidiq-Akbar[125] started on a mercantile journey to Syria with his prophetic lordship, and in the company of many other persons. When they reached a certain halting-place, the prophet sat down under a lote-tree, and Abu Bakr went to Bahira, the hermit of that locality, to bring food. The monk asked for the individual sitting at the foot of the tree. and being told that he was Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, Bahira exclaimed: 'By Allah! he is not only a prophet, but the seal of prophets, and I have heard that after I'sa [Jesus] no one will sit at the foot of this tree, except the prophet of the latter times.' Therefore on that very day the truth of his lordship's—u. w. b.—prophetship became evident to Sidiq. Some chroniclers relate that this journey was the same with the one in which Abu Tâleb had been present with the prophet.

One of the events which took place during that year was the 'Covenant of the Factions.' At that time the Qoraish were oppressing each other, and for the purpose of relieving the oppressed, Zobeir, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and A'bdullah, the son of Juda'an, assembled the Qoraish princes, all of whom entered into a covenant, by oath, to put an end to the tyranny, as had been done long ere this time, when assemblies congregated in this manner in the sanctuary and entered into a confederacy.

During this year angels began to appear to his lordship,

[124] A.D. 590; see Part I., vol. ii., of this work, p. 392.
[125] Abu Bakr.

and one day he said to Abu Tâleb: 'Uncle, several nights ago three men came to me, looked at me acutely, and said: "This is he, but the time of his appearance has not yet come." I was frightened at this sight.' Abu Tâleb replied: 'Do not be dismayed; such things may be the sport of imagination or dreams.' On another occasion he said: 'Uncle, one of those three men came and attacked me, and introduced his hand into my abdomen, so that I experienced freshness and tranquillity.' This made Abu Tâleb apprehensive, lest some disease might have invaded his blessed body, and he took him to a physician somewhat acquainted with soothsaying, explained the matter, and asked for a medicine. The soothsaying doctor felt his noble pulse and fully investigated his limbs, but, after catching sight of the seal of prophecy, exclaimed: 'Abu Tâleb, thy son is free from every blemish, as well as from the machinations of devils. The individuals who are appearing to him are noble angels, who look after him on account of his prophetship; but if the Jews learn anything about it, they will endeavour to slay him.' A short time afterwards his lordship said that in his sleep he had seen a portion of the ceiling of the house raised, and two individuals descending on a long ladder. One of them sat down at a distance, but the other approached him [i.e. Muhammad], opened his side, took out his heart, and said: 'It is a good heart, the heart of a pious man and of a prophet.' Then he again replaced it, and he [Muhammad] awoke.

Events of the Twenty-fifth Year after the Birth of that Lord of Felicity; his going to Syria on Commercial Affairs, and Khodaijah's being exalted by becoming associated with his Lordship—U. W. B.

Khodaijah, the daughter of Khoilad[126]—may Allah reward her—was distinguished, and stood alone among the Qoraish ladies by the extent of her property, the adornments of her beauty, and her high perfection. She was

[126] This word is spelt *Khowaylad* by Sir W. Muir, and *Chowaylid* by Dr. A. Sprenger.

accustomed to entrust men with goods to trade with, and afterwards shared with them the profits, which kind of partnership is by lawyers called *Sharkat mazârabah.*[127] During this year Abu Tâleb complained about the scantiness of his property and about the extension of his family to the lord of this world—u. w. b.—saying: 'Khodaijah, the daughter of Khoilad, gives her wares, on condition of sharing in half the profit, to several individuals. If thou requestest her to send thee to trade, she will, considering thy great honesty, probably not refuse thee.' His holy and prophetic lordship, whose enlightened mind was a treasury of the secrets of the invisible world, and whose wonderful tongue was the interpreter of sacred truths, replied: 'She will receive the message, and send word on this matter.' Abu Tâleb continued: 'I fear lest she prefer another man to thee, and appoint him to this business.' When the conversation and intention of Abu Tâleb, and of the prince of the victorious family [of Musalmân nations], had been brought to the notice of Khodaijah, she sent the following message to the apostle—u. w. b.: 'I have heard that thou art inclined for commerce, and on account of thy truthfulness, good behaviour, uprightness, and perfect honesty, I shall give thee double the property which I entrust to other men of the Qoraish to trade with.' His lordship the apostle communicated on this subject with Abu Tâleb, who exclaimed: 'Verily this is a provision which Allah has made for thee.' Accordingly his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—made arrangements for the journey, and Khodaijah sent one of her slaves, Misarah by name, with him. Some books have it that Khodaijah despatched one of her own relatives, called Khozaimah, the son of Hakim, in the company of the leader of the caravan of Law [*i.e.*, Muhammad]. In short, when they started to Missr, the camels of Khodaijah, unable to bear the load of prophecy, halted. Khozaimah informed his lordship of this misfortune, whereon the latter, having placed his blessed

[127] *Sharkat*, participation; *mazârabah*, selling goods of another for half the profit

hand upon the feet of one of the animals, and uttered a supplication; they all began to move, and took the lead of all the riding camels of the caravan. When Khozaimah had witnessed this strange event, he said that Muhammad would find a great friend. Arriving at the frontiers of Missr, the people alighted near the hermitage of the monk Nasttûr, who was also called Nasttûz. His lordship sat down under a tree, which became immediately green and flourishing, throwing its shadow upon that river of prophecy. Nasttûr, seeing what had taken place, descended from the roof of the hermitage, and said to the apostle of Allah: 'I adjure thee by Lût and U'zza to tell me what thy name is.' His holy and prophetic lordship replied: 'May thy mother be childless! Begone from me; for the Arabs have not uttered any words more disagreeable to me than thine.' Nasttûr had a piece of white silk cloth in his hand, at which he looked occasionally, and also at the face of the apostle—u. w. b. After having cautiously finished his observation, he exclaimed: 'I swear by him who sent the Enjil [Gospel] to I'sa [Jesus] that this is he!' Khozaimah, whom friendship for his lordship the last of prophets had overpowered, imagined that the hermit was meditating some treachery; he accordingly drew his sword and shouted for his companions. When the people arrived running, the monk retired to his cell, locked it, and, having ascended to the roof, exclaimed: 'Why do you mistrust me? I swear by Allah that no caravan dearer to me than yours has ever halted at this place. I find it on this silk, that the individual who had alighted at the foot of this tree is a prophet of Allah and the last of seers. Whoever obeys him will be saved, and who opposes him will perish.' He further asked Khozaimah in what connection they stood to each other, and the latter replied: 'I am his servant,' and narrating how the camels had stopped, he mentioned how they had obtained strength. The monk continued: 'I shall confide a secret to thee, and hope thou wilt keep it.' Khozaimah assented, and Nasttûr said: 'I find on this silk that this man will prevail over all countries, and will conquer all

servants [of God ?], nor will anyone be able to resist him; neither does anyone know how great he will be. Know thou that the Jews will be most inimical to him; guard him, therefore, from their evil intentions.' After Khozaimah had heard these words he hastened to wait upon the prince of the world, and said: 'I perceive in thee several characteristics not discernible in others, and I think thou art the prophet who will be sent from Tahamah. I see the people bear a wonderful affection for thee; I also shall consider thy friends as mine, and thy enemies as mine.'

It is related that during this journey his sacred and prophetic lordship had, on account of some transaction, a dispute with a Jew, who said: 'I adjure thee by Lût and U'zza.'

Muhammad 'Whenever I pass near [the statues of] Lût and U'zza I turn away my face from them.'

Jew 'Thou art right, and thy words are true!'

Then the Jew left off quarrelling, and said to Khozaimah: 'I swear by Allah that this is the prophet whose description our U'lâma have found in the Torathah.'

In fine, after profitably terminating the commercial journey they returned, and having on a hot day arrived in Mekkah, that guide of the companions of the right side was riding on a camel, and Misarah[128] on another. Two birds overshadowed the favourite of the Almighty to ward off the ardour of the sun, and when Khodaijah, who was with a number of women sitting in an apartment, beheld the scene, she pointed it out to her companions, all of whom were amazed thereat. When Misarah came in to Khodaijah and complained of the hardships of the journey, she asked him about the circumstance of the birds projecting their shadow [over Muhammad]. He informed her, however, that from the time they had left the exalted threshold they had always been present, whether the caravan was resting

[128] *Misarah*, as has been narrated above, was a servant of Khodaijah, and the word means *the left side;* but for the sake of introducing a play on the words *right* and *left*, our author here calls the prophet the 'guide of the companions of the right,' *i e*, of those who will be saved, because on the day of judgment they will be placed on the right, and the damned on the left side.

or starting. He further related the strange and wonderful events he had witnessed in connection with his sacred and prophetic lordship from the time of their departure till their return, and narrated also the conversations with the Jew, and of Nasttûr the monk.

Khodaijah, who was a most intelligent woman, wished, after she had heard everything that had taken place, to become the spouse of the Prince of Beings; and it is on record that on account of her excellent character, high intellect, and great wealth, most of the Qoraish princes had at that time been making to her offers of marriage, and had presented her with gifts of various kinds, but that she manifested no desire to become the wife of any one of the rich and noble Arabs. When she had obtained information concerning all the circumstances of his apostolic lordship—u. w. b.—and the desire to marry him had overpowered her mind, she confided her secret to a woman called Nafisah, who was extremely handsome and intelligent; she concurred with the opinion of Khodaijah, went to his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—and elicited from him with much dexterity a favourable reply to her question whether he would be inclined to ally himself to Khodaijah, and, returning to that happy lady, brought her the glad tidings. Hereon Khodaijah selected a propitious hour and assembled in her house her uncle A'mru Bin Asad, with Waraqah, the son of Naufil, who was her near relative and a Christian theologian. On the other hand, his holy and prophetic lordship had, with Abu Tâleb and several others of his uncles, arrived during the same hour at her invitation. On that occasion Abu Tâleb delivered the following elegant and eloquent speech: 'Praise and adoration to Allah, who has made us the children of Ebrâhim and of Esma'il, brought us forth from the family of Moa'd and Mazar, has made us the guardians of His house, the princes of His sanctuary, and has presented us with the Ka'bah, which is the place of circumambulation and the Qiblah of mankind, and the safe asylum of everyone who flees to it for refuge. But after [the preliminary

remarks I state that] my brother's son Muhammad, son of A'bdullah, son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, is a man who preponderates over every one of the Qoraish with whom he may be compared, and though his property is slender, it matters not, because possessions may decrease and vanish. Muhammad is an individual whose relationship to me is well known to you. Now he weds Khodaijah, the daughter of Khoilad with a wedding gift of twenty camels of my property, which is the marriage settlement, including all claims. By Allah! a high destiny and great events are awaiting Muhammad.' When Abu Taleb had terminated this discourse, Waraqah Bin Naufil also delivered a speech, beginning with praise and adoration to the Most High, confirming what Abu Tâleb had said, and stating that he gave away Khodaijah for a wife to Muhammad with a dowry of four hundred mithqâls of gold. Then Abu Tâleb said to Waraqah: 'I request A'mru Bin Asad, the uncle of Khodaijah, to give his consent likewise.' A'mru therefore replied: 'I also give away Khodaijah to be the wife of Muhammad.' According to a correct tradition, the father of Khodaijah was no longer alive, and [at the completion of the just-mentioned meeting] she ordered her female slaves to beat drums and to sing songs. On the same day the lovely Venus was in conjunction with Jupiter of sunlike aspect. One of the best authors of later times relates in one of his books that, as it appears from the speech of Abu Tâleb, Khodaijah's dowry consisted of twenty camels, and from that of Waraqah, the son of Naufil, that it amounted to four hundred mithqâls of gold; but according to some chroniclers the dowry consisted of five hundred dirhems. All the three statements may be reconciled with each other if we assume them to have existed in separate traditions, and to have been thus copied by several writers, because at that time twenty camels, five hundred dirhems, or four hundred mithqâls may have represented one and the same value, and that consequently the traditions have rendered it, and not the special sums and articles constituting it. The author of these pages objects, however, to this equaliza-

tion, on the ground that the three traditions may be reconciled to each other only with reference to a period of time during which five hundred dirhems, the value whereof amounts to three hundred and fifty mithqâls of silver, were equal in price to four hundred mithqâls of gold, which is most improbable, and therefore the equalization can by no means hold good.

EVENTS OF THE THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR AFTER THE BIRTH OF HIS SACRED AND PROPHETIC LORDSHIP—U. W. B.—WITH AN EPITOME OF THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE AFTER IT TILL THE MISSION.

During the thirty-fifth year after the august birth of his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—the Qoraish demolished the house of the Ka'bah, and after again raising its walls, they covered them with a roof. There are two reasons on account of which it is said to have been destroyed and renovated. The first is that the walls of the Ka'bah were not higher than a man's stature, and that it had no roof. Once a torrent of water had made a breach in the walls, the people feared that the house of Allah might suddenly fall, wherefore they demolished the old walls and rebuilt them. The second is that the Ka'bah contained a treasury in the shape of a well, into which the property belonging to the Ka'bah was placed and offerings were thrown; one night, however, a company of thieves had stolen the whole contents of the well. At that time a ship, arriving from Rûm, had been wrecked at Jiddhah;[120] the captain of the vessel happened to be an able architect, and was called Yaqûm. When the Qoraish heard of the wreck they despatched Walid Bin Moghairah, with several Qoraish princes, to Jiddhah, where they purchased the timbers of the ship, and at their request Yâqûm came with his crew to Mekkah to build the house of Allah. He ordered stones to be collected, whereon the Qoraish began the work, undressed themselves, and dragged the stones, his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—likewise

[120] The seaport next to Mekkah, where the pilgrims are landed.

assisting them. On this occasion A'bbâs kindly said to the latter: 'Muhammad, do thou likewise throw thy Izâr[130] on thy neck, and drag stones therewith.' His lordship obeyed this injunction, but as soon as he exposed his parts [which modesty requires to be covered] he fainted, and when he again regained his senses he said: 'My *Izâr* is my *Azâr*!'[131] and the narrator states that after this occasion no one had ever seen him in a state of nudity.

There is a tradition that in building the four sides of the Ka'bah the work was divided, and lots were thrown, according to which the space from the buttress [*i.e.*, corner] of the black stone to that of E'râq was assigned to the [descendants of] A'bd Munaf and to the Bani Zohrah; from the buttress of E'raq to that of Syria to the Bani Asad Bin A'bd-ul-U'zza and to the Bani A'bdullah; from the buttress of Syria to that of Yaman to the Bani Tamim; and from the buttress of Yaman to the black stone to the Bani Baham and Bani A'zâi. When the walls had been raised to the height of the black stone[132] the Qoraish began to dispute with each other, and each clan asserted that one of their own number should fix that blessed stone in its place. This affair ended well-nigh in bloodshed; whereon they agreed that the individual first arriving by the gate of the Bani Shaibah, which was one of the portals of the sanctuary, should be constituted arbiter, whose decision was not to be infringed. Just at that moment his sacred and prophetic lordship came in by the said gate, which event the Qoraish took for a propitious sign, and exclaimed: 'Muhammad, the faithful one, has arrived, and whatever he may say in this matter is to be obeyed.' As soon as this affair had been explained to his world-adoring mind, he spread his blessed Redâ[133] out on the ground, placed the black stone into the middle of it, and called for a man from

[130] The *Izâr* is a loin-cloth, and preceded the wearing of trousers.

[131] *Azâr* means affliction.

[132] Two cubits and one third, or, which is the same thing, seven spans from the ground.

[133] The *Redâ* is a sheet much larger than the Izâr, and may be called a shawl. It serves also as a wrapper or cloak.

each tribe. O'tbah Bin Shaibah, Abu Rafa'ah, Abu Khozaiqah Bin Moghairah, and A'da Bin Qais quickly responded to the invitation, and at a signal from his lordship each of them laid hold of one corner of the Redâ, thus taking up and raising the black stone; but his sacred and prophetic lordship fixed it in its place.

When the walls had attained the height of twenty cubits they made a roof and fixed it on six pillars, but in such a manner that a portion of the corner with the black stone, which would have required a circular wall [it is not said why], remained uncovered. This building of the Ka'bah was evidently against the laws of Ebrâhim; wherefore his holy and prophetic lordship said on a certain occasion to A'aishah: 'Had not the people recently allied themselves with infidels I would have demolished the Ka'bah, and would have rebuilt it according to the laws of Ebrâhim, with an eastern and a western door.' When A'bdullah Bin Zobeir heard this tradition he destroyed the building of the Qoraish whilst he held sway, and rebuilt the Ka'bah according to the intentions of his lordship the last of the prophets. When, however, Hajjâj Bin Yusuf undertook, by order of A'bd-ul-Malik Merwân,[134] a campaign against A'bdullah Bin Zobeir and vanquished him, he destroyed the edifice built by the latter, at the command of the same Khalifah, and re-erected it as the Qoraish had built it during the lifetime of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. When Harûn-ur-Rashid became Khalifah he desired to annihilate the edifice of Merwân, and to rebuild the Ka'bah according to the model of A'bdullah Bin Zobeir. On this subject he consulted the Emâm Mâlek, but the latter replied: 'O commander of the faithful, let the Ka'bah alone, lest thou [it ?] become the sport of kings.' Accordingly, Harûn renounced his intention.

Some chroniclers relate that during this year Fattimah Zohrâ—may Allah reward her—was born. In his thirty-

[134] He was the ninth Khalifah, but the fifth of the Ommiade dynasty, who resided at Damascus. He began to reign on the 14th October, A.D. 685, and died on the 3rd of the same month, A.D. 705.

eighth year his sacred and prophetic lordship heard voices and saw lights. There is a tradition of A'aishah that she said the first revelation the apostle of Allah received was a true vision, and he had not had one before like the 'Day-break.'[135]

It is related that near the time of the mission and of the revelations his lordship had left Mekkah on some business, and that from every stone and tree near which he passed he heard the words: 'Greeting to thee, O apostle of Allah!' In the same manner, also before he had received revelations, he was once walking alone on the road, and heard a man calling out to him: 'O Muhammad!' Though his lordship glanced right and left he could perceive nothing, and was so overpowered by terror that he fled. At that time the Divine rays likewise prevailed in such a manner in the casket of his heart as to blot out from his mind everything except Allah, whose love took such possession of his august nature that no traces of anything else remained on the pages of his lucid mind.

Distich: Whoever speaks not of Thee, is silent better;
Whatever does not record Thee, is forgotten better.

He abstained from commingling or having any intercourse with the people, to such a degree that intelligent Arabs said: 'Verily, Muhammad loves his Lord most.' Muhammad having thus thrown the fire of abstinence into the granary of association with mankind, and wiped out the forms of all created beings from the tablet of his heart with the water of disparagement, turned the reins of his intention towards the Ka'bah of Divine contemplation, made Mount Hira the castle of his intentions and adorations. At that time he was, in the furtherance of his design, occasionally seen to enter the apartment of Khodaijah, to take some food, and again to return to his place of worship on Mount Hira. In this manner he kept the garden of adorations for a long time blooming with the

[135] The *Daybreak* is now ch. cxiii. of the Qurân; according to Rodwell, however, it was revealed the 6th, and not the 1st, as A'aishah states.

water of sincerity, and the lamp of his meditations ceased not to burn during the long periods of bright days or the darkness of nights,' a small portion only of the latter excepted. His illuminated mind having thus become the receptacle of the Divine verses[136] and the depository of royal secrets, the Faithful Spirit[137] filled his whole essence and adorned it with the pearl-like words of the Qurân, so that he became in Divine knowledge and in celestial secrets the doctor of doctors, and his breast was imbued with the contents of the Preserved Table.[138] Thus the sun of prophecy rose in the east of Battha, the luminary of apostleship radiated from the grove of Mount Hira, the blessed finger of Muhammad was adorned with the seal, and his stature with the robe of prophecy.

Events that took place during the Mission, and shortly before, and after the Revelations.

Solmah, one of the Anssâr [helpers], relates: 'One day a Jewish priest was in the assembly of the Bani A'bd-ul-Ashhab speaking about the mission, the resurrection, and the last judgment. The people asked him: "What will be the sign of the truth of these words?" He replied: "A prophet will be sent from the sanctuary." They continued: "At what time will that be?" And he pointed to me saying: "This boy will be living, and will be honoured by attending upon him."'

Solmah says: 'By Allah! I was waiting day and night until I entered the society of the prince of beings—upon whom be the most excellent benedictions and salutations—was rejoiced by, and participated in, the blessing of the religion. The Jew, however, would not believe, and I told him that, strangely enough, he had himself foretold the coming of the Emâm and apostle, and had not been disinclined to place faith in his words. But he replied that the promised individual was not this one:

Distich: Though the lamp of religion has no smoke.
It is of no use when the eye is blind.

[136] *I.e.*, of the Qurân. [137] *I.e.*, Gabriel.
[138] The *Preserved Table* is eternal and uncreated. On it also the Qurân is written.

A'assum ·Bir A'mru-uz-zári says: 'The reason of our tribe professing Islâm was as follows: Before the mission the possessors of the book[139] bore enmity towards us; wherefore we quarrelled and fought with them; but they informed us by way of a threat that a prophet would shortly appear, in whom they would believe, would gird their loins, and would revenge themselves upon us. When, however, the mission of his lordship had reached our people, we believed, but they refused, and persisted in their infidelity and heresy; and the blessed verse, "When a book came to them from Allah," etc., has been revealed with reference to them and us.'

An old man of the Bani Quraittah [Jews] has said: 'The reason why I and a number of the Bani Dhahil—the relatives of the Bani Quraittah dwelling with them—made a profession of Islâm was that ten years before the mission one of the Jewish U'lâma had come among us and had fallen sick. When he was dying, he said: "O people, the occasion of my leaving our country and coming to dwell here was that I knew for a certainty of the speedy mission of a prophet, the place of whose exile and mansion of refuge would be in the blessed and pleasant locality, namely, in the city of Madinah. I came into this neighbourhood in order to become ennobled by waiting upon him, and becoming enrolled among the number of his servants; but as fortune is adverse to my aspirations, it is my last advice to you to hasten to that blessed individual, so that none may precede you in professing his religion; for he will be commanded to shed the blood of those who oppose his religion, and to make captives of their women and children." When his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—besieged the Bani Quraittah after the war of the confederates,[140] I and the company of the Dhahil who had heard the just-mentioned words of the old man said: "By Allah! this is the prophet, the promise of whose advent

[139] The *Ahl Khitâb* are the Jews and Christians who possess revealed books.

[140] To be related farther on in detail. 'The Confederates' is the title of ch. xxxiii. of the Qurân.

we have heard." Therefore we ascended from the fort and became Moslems, whereon the property and families of all of us were spared.'

Tolhah Bin A'bdullah says: 'I was engaged in buying and selling in the bazâr of Bossrah, when a monk living in that place inquired whether any man of the inhabitants of the sanctuary was present, and I replied: "I am one of them, and have come from the Ka'bah." Thereon he further asked whether Ahmed had appeared in Mekkah, and on my questioning him who Ahmed was, he said: "The son of A'bdullah, son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who will receive his mission during this month; he is the seal of prophets, and he will remove to a district the stones whereof are white, and the earth salsuginous, but it contains many date-trees." I remembered these words, and on my return to Mekkah I asked whether anything had happened during my absence, and was told that Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah, had asserted his claims to prophetship and had convinced Abu Bakr Bin Quhâfah of the truth thereof. Accordingly I went to the latter, conversed with him, and became a Musalmân.'

Abu Harirah[141] says: 'On a certain occasion the Bani Khasha'm were sitting near an idol and addressing petitions to it, when they all of a sudden heard a voice saying: "O ye men, you ask idols for aid and protection; you are not aware of what I see, and are careless to learn what I know. I behold a light which will abolish the darkness of night, and that light is a prophet, the chief of men of the highest degree, and belonging to the tribe Bani Hâsham, who is manifesting his prophetship in Mekkah and substituting Islâm for infidelity[142] The Most High loves him, because he is a worthy chief and an appropriate guide." We heard these words well enough to remember them. Then the people dispersed, and after the expira-

[141] Abu Harirah, meaning the father, *i.e.*, possessor of the kitten, was one of the companions of the prophet, and is an authority on tradition.

[142] The Faith is called *Islâm*, *i.e.*, resignation to the will of Allah, in contrast to *Kufr*, *i.e.*, infidelity, which opposes it.

tion of one morth we heard the news of the mission, and the invitation of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.' Abu Harirah, having been asked whether he had himself also worshipped the idol, replied: 'Yes; and praise and glory be to Allah that I was delivered from that misery by the blessing of Muhammad, the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.'

There is a tradition that one day a man waited upon O'mar, and that another introduced him as follows: 'O'mar, this man is Sowâd Bin Ghârab from Yaman, distinguished by nobility, power, and renown. One of the genii, who was his twin-brother,[143] has informed him of the arrival of the prophet of the latter days.' Hereon Farûq [i.e. O'mar] asked Sowâd whether he was the man whom his twin-brother had informed of the coming of the prophet of the latter times, and he replied: 'Yes, O Amir; but no twin-brother had appeared to me before I became a Musalman.' O'mar wished to know the details, and Sowâd continued. 'One night I was asleep, when all of a sudden a man struck me with his foot, and said: "Arise, and mount thy horse; arrange any affair thou mayest have, because the apostle from the Bani Hâsham and Lowa Bin Ghaleb has arrived. The breeze of prosperity is waiting; he will invite the people to the worship of Allah, and explain His religions to them." After that he recited several distichs to me.' The writer of these lines says that some chroniclers have translated the contents of those verses as follows.

Verses. I wonder in my heart at the genii,
That the way to the Ka'bah is their souls' desire
Be aware that all the genii are not good
Fairies and men are not of one kind,
But all covet the road of guidance,
That they may prevail over the erring
Thou also, if thou hastenest to the prophet,
Wilt attain the goal thou art bound for.

Sowâd continued: 'I placed no trust in these words, and told him to let me alone, as I had not slept last night; but he again returned during the next, and recited verses. I,

[143] This is evidently a familiar spirit, but the Persian word being *Hemzad*, i.e., born together, I have rendered it by 'twin-brother.'

however, could not believe him until he again came the third night and repeated his conversation, so that the love of Islâm at last took root in my heart, and I started the next morning. On my way I heard that his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had taken refuge in Madinah. Accordingly I hastened to that city, where I met his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—in the mosque, sitting with his companions, and said: "O apostle of Allah, listen to my words!" Abu Bakr said: "Come nearer;" and they placed me so close that I touched with my knee that of the prophet—u. w. b.—whereon his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—said: "Come, tell us what news thy twin-brother has given thee." Then I recited the whole occurrence in poetry.' Some chroniclers have rendered the verses of Sowâd Bin Ghârab as follows:

Verses
Verily I had a dream last night,
Sarush[144] coming to tell me
That a prophet had been sent,
Descended from Lowa Bin Ghâleb Bin Fehr.
The second night the same he related,
The third again he it stated,
As these words were so clear,
I came to his lordship here,
To testify that God is One,
And is to be adored alone
Allah's prophet to the people art thou!
The noblest of apostles art thou!
Guide me, O Emâm, in the true way,
And keep me from going astray,
On my part I promise to obey thee,
For at the resurrection thou wilt protect me.

Sowâd says: 'When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and his noble companions—Allah reward them—heard these words from me they rejoiced at my professing Islâm.' It is related that after Farûq had witnessed everything that took place he embraced Sowâd, saying: 'I was always desirous of hearing thee narrate this occurrence.' Traditions of this kind are numerous in chronicles, and we have therefore related some of them in this place.

[144] Among Moslems Sarush means Gabriel, or any other angel who communicates news. The word is, however, older than Muhammadanism, and peculiar to the Zoroastrian religion, wherein it designates a genius whose principal duty it is to protect the pure world during the night; his antagonist is Khasm

The Descent of the Revelation; the Coming of Jebrâil [Gabriel], and his Reciting the Evident Signs to that Prince and Chief of Beings—upon whom be the Blessing of Allah and Peace!

Some historians—may Allah have mercy on them—have related that in the beginning of the forty-first year from the most propitious birth of that intercessor on the day of judgment Jebrâil appeared on Monday, the seventeenth of the blessed month of Ramazân, on the top of Mount Hira, and ordered his lordship to recite the Surah [chapter]: *Read.*[145] Having rubbed his heel on the ground, and thereby produced a spring of water, Jebrâil taught his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—how to perform the religious ablution and to pray Others say that Jebrâil taught him how to wash himself and to pray on Tuesday, the second day of the mission. Some traditionalists assert that his lordship the last of prophets—u. w. b.—was sleeping in the cave of Mount Hira, when Jebrâil made his appearance in the shape of a man, and said: 'Read.' But his lordship answered: 'I am not a reader.' Then Jebrâil squeezed him so hard that he thought his death was near; but the angel again said, 'Read,' received the same answer, and again pressed his holy and prophetic lordship. After having repeated this proceeding thrice, Jebrâil exclaimed: 'Read in the name of thy Lord who hath created. Who hath created man of congealed blood. Read by the most beneficent Lord who taught the use of the pen. Who teacheth man that which he knoweth not.'[146] One of the U'lâma says: 'The first squeezing purified his august nature from all concupiscence, the second from all sinful desires, although the heart receives all good and evil

[145] This is a title of ch. xcvi. of the Qurân, being the first word of it, and another title is 'Congealed blood,' from a phrase which occurs in it

[146] The above is the beginning of ch. xcvi. of the Qurân, which was the first revealed, but has been relegated almost to the end of it. In Rodwell's translation, however, this is the first chapter, he having adhered throughout his work to the chronological order of the revelations.

impressions, such as the radiations of the faith and the inspirations of Satan. It is true that the blessed heart of his holy and prophetic lordship was free from all ignominious qualities, but his purification was necessary to divest it from human failings and to prepare it for the reception of Divine revelations.

Quatrain: For the veil he lifted
From the virgin Qurân,
And explained its signification,
Free of all contamination.

Some chroniclers relate that when this operation took place his lordship thought that he would receive some blameworthy qualities, such as soothsaying or madness; therefore he hastened to the mountain to precipitate himself down therefrom. But when he reached the middle of it he heard a voice exclaiming: 'O Muhammad, thou art the apostle of Allah, and I am Jebrâil!' These words diverted his lordship from his intention, and in whatsoever direction he looked he perceived that intimate angel opposite to himself. After that awful event and immense favour he returned to his holy dwelling, where Khodaijah received him with the words: 'O father of Qâsim, where hast thou been? for the messengers I sent were unable to find thee.' His lordship then narrated what had taken place, and said: 'Verily I fear I shall become a soothsayer.' But Khodaijah rejoined: 'Allah forbid! The Lord will bestow on thee only favours and blessings, and I hope thou wilt become the prophet of this nation.' Then Khodaijah went to the son of her uncle, Waraqah Bin Naufil, who was one of the Christian U'lâma distinguished for his great intelligence, and she informed him of what had taken place. Waraqah replied: 'I swear by that God in whose power my life is, that if these words of thine be true, Muhammad will be the prophet of this nation, for Jebrâil is the great Namûs[147] who descended to Mûsa—u. w. b.—and to I'sa—u. w. b.' Afterwards his lordship the apostle met Waraqah Bin Naufil and

[147] See on this word, footnote 16, and the passages relating to it in the Translator's Preface.

explained what had taken place. Waraqah swore an oath that Jebrâil was the great secretary who had brought the revelation to Mûsa, and continued: 'Thou wilt be the prophet of this nation; but verily the people will injure, exile, and fight thee.' Hereby the mind of his lordship was pacified, and he returned to his sacred mansion. One day he was reclining in the cave of Hira, when Jebrâil entered from the rear and struck him with his foot. Hereon the apostle—u. w. b.—sat up straight, looked in all directions, but could see no one; when he again reclined, Jebrâil touched him with his foot again, and said: 'O Muhammad, arise!' His lordship got up and saw a man in front of himself, whom he then followed. When they had arrived between Marvah and Safa that man fixed his feet on the ground, stretched his head up to the sky, and spread out his wings, which reached from the east to the west. His feet are said to have been yellow, his wings green, and he had a necklace of red rubies, but according to others of coral. The hair of his head was of the hue of corals, his forehead bright, his countenance luminous, his teeth bright and shining; between his two eyes the words were written, 'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.'[148] When the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—perceived this spectacle he was frightened by the magnitude of Jebrâil's person, and said: 'May Allah have mercy upon thee—who art thou? Verily I have never seen such a handsome and tall man as thee!' That individual replied: 'I am Jebrâil, the Faithful Spirit who has descended to all prophets and inspired messengers. Read, O Muhammad.' His sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—asked: 'What am I to read? I have never read anything, nor do I know how to read.' Hereon Jebrâil took from beneath his wing a piece of the silk of paradise, embroidered with pearls and gems, and threw it upon his blessed face.

[148] The above is the profession of the Faith, and any man pronouncing it is forthwith considered to be a Musalmân, so that when an individual belonging to another religion has uttered it, and afterwards, repenting, desires to remain therein, he is considered as an apostate from Islâm deserving of punishment.

Then he squeezed him so that he nearly fainted, and letting go his lordship again, he said: 'O Muhammad, read.' His lordship the refuge of the termination [of prophecy] repeated the same answer, whereon Jebrâil again squeezed him as in the first instance. According to the most current tradition, he did so thrice, and the fourth time he said: 'Read in the name of thy Lord who hath created, who hath created man of congealed blood.' According to another tradition, his lordship wished to die in order to escape the calamity of further squeezing, when Jebrâil was for the third time saying, 'Read.' On that occasion Jebrâil struck his foot upon the ground, whereon a spring of water gushed out, and he performed the religious ablution according to the well-known custom, and then taught the prophet to do so likewise. Then Jebrâil stepped forward, the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—imitated him, and they performed orisons with two prayer-flexions. From that time prayers became obligatory upon his lordship, and he occasionally performed them with two flexions, until the time when the 'five prayers' and the ordained periods thereof were established. After the termination of their devotions Jebrâil disappeared, and his holy and prophetic lordship returned home. He knocked at the door, which Khodaijah opened, and, embracing him, said: 'May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! I perceive a light in thy countenance the like of which I have never beheld. I smell a fragrance from thee the like of which I have never inhaled. Relate to me what has happened.' The lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—then narrated the occurrence, and she replied: 'Allah the most glorious and high has shown thee favour.' According to another tradition, she bade his lordship to remain in the house, and said: 'Whenever Jebrâil appears to thee inform me of it.' Afterwards, when Jebrâil came to his lordship, Khodaijah, having become aware of his presence, took his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—upon her left knee, and asked: 'Seest thou him?' He replied: 'Yes.' Then she seated him on her right knee, repeated the question, and received the same

answer. She then concealed his lordship under her robes, lifted his blessed head out from the collar-drapery, and, opening the coif round his head, asked: 'Seest thou him?' But he said: 'No.' Khodaijah then continued: 'Glad tidings to thee, for this is a noble angel from the Lord God most high and holy.' Thereon Khodaijah left his lordship in the house and paid a visit to Waraqah, who had a long time before abandoned the religion of the Qoraish, had become a Christian, and was well acquainted with the Enjil [Evangel]. She said to him: 'O son of my uncle, inform me about Jebrâil.' Waraqah replied: 'Holy! holy! How can Jebrâil be mentioned in a city where God is not worshipped?' Khodaijah continued: 'Muhammad Bin A'bdullah Bin A'bd-ul-Muttalleb says: Jebrâil has descended upon me.' Waraqah rejoined: 'If Jebrâil descends in this country, great benefits and blessings will appear. He is the great messenger who has come down to Mûsa and to I'sa—salutation to both—and has conveyed to them Divine revelations.' Khodaijah said: 'Inform me whether it is recorded in the Toratah and in the Enjil that at present a prophet will be sent, who is an orphan and poor, but whom Allah the most high and glorious will enrich, and who will be united to a woman noble in station and descent?' Waraqah replied: 'Yes; and the qualities of that woman are thy qualities.' She further inquired: 'Has that prophet any other peculiarities?' Waraqah continued: 'One of his peculiarities is that he will, like I'sa, walk on the surface of the water, and as a corpse conversed with I'sa, so one will speak with him likewise. A rock will salute him, and trees will bear witness to his prophetship.'

It is related that Waraqah said to Khodaijah: 'Send Muhammad to me, that he may himself narrate his affairs in detail.' After his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had paid a visit to Waraqah, and had narrated his circumstances to him, Waraqah exclaimed thrice: 'Glad tidings to thee, O Muhammad! Verily I bear witness that thou art the prophet whose advent I'sa—u. w. b.—has predicted when

he said: "After me a prophet will be sent whose name will be Ahmed," and that the great messenger who had come down to Mûsa has descended also upon thee.' Hereon he kissed the crown of his head, and continued: 'Thou wilt soon be commanded to attack, fight, and wage war against infidels. Would to God that I could be alive at that time when the people will expel thee from the country, that I might aid and succour thee!' His lordship asked: 'Will the people drive me out?' Waraqah replied: 'Yes; no mortal attained such dignity without being hated and persecuted.' A short time afterwards Waraqah Bin Naufil died, and therefore could not live to witness the period of the mission, but his lordship said: 'I have seen the beazle of the ring in paradise, dressed in green robes; for he has believed in me.' And in traditions 'the beazle of the ring' means Waraqah Bin Naufil.

It is related that after meeting Waraqah, Khodaijah went to the monk A'dâs, a decrepit old man, who received her with much affability, and asked for the reason of her having condescended to pay him a visit. Khodaijah replied that she desired to be informed about Jebrâil, but he prostrated himself, and exclaimed: 'Holy! holy! What is the mention of Jebrâil in a town where God is not worshipped?' Khodaijah reiterated her request, but he continued: 'I swear by Allah that I shall give thee no information until thou sayest whence thou hast received this word.' Khodaijah promised to comply on condition of his not informing anyone of what she would tell him. This he promised, and she continued: 'Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah, son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, says: "Jebrâil has descended upon me."' A'dâs stated: 'Jebrâil is the great messenger who has brought revelations to Mûsa and to I'sa. If he descends in this country great blessings will redound thereon; but, O Khodaijah, by some machinations of Satan the calamity of madness has possibly befallen Muhammad! Take this book of mine to him, and tell him to study it in order to remain safe from the attacks of Satan, and if he be on the side of the Merciful One, the perusal of this book will bring

him no harm.' When Khodaijah brought the book to that prince, Jebrâil was just reciting the blessed verse, 'By the pen, and what they write, thou [O Muhammad] through the grace of thy Lord art not distracted,'[149] to his lordship. Khodaijah, pleased with hearing the evident signs [*i.e.*, verses], said to the apostle: 'May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! Arise, and let us go to A'dâs.' Accordingly both visited A'dâs, who seated his lordship the refuge of the termination [of prophecy] near himself, bared his blessed shoulders, and perceived the seal of prophecy shining between them. He immediately prostrated himself, and then, raising his head, said: 'Holy! holy! O Muhammad, I swear by God that thou art the prophet, whose advent Mûsa and I'sa have predicted. By Allah! should I be alive when thou wilt be inviting the people to believe, I shall fight with a sabre in front of thee.' A'dâs continued, and asked: 'O prophet of Allah, hast thou been commanded to do anything?' He replied in the negative, whereon A'dâs said: 'Thou wilt soon be ordered to proselytize the people, but they will accuse thee of falsehood and expel thee from this city; angels, however, will aid thee.'

In some traditions it is related that after Jebrâil had recited the Surah 'Read' to his lordship, he disappeared. Then his lordship entered the house of Khodaijah, the flesh of his shoulder-blades trembled, and he exclaimed: 'Wrap me up!' Accordingly something was placed upon his head till his fright left him. It is said that when his holy and prophetic lordship had after the descent of the revelation returned home, he said to Khodaijah: 'I am afraid for my life.' And she replied: 'Allah the Most High will not distress thee; for thou art benevolent to thy relatives and distinguished for thy veracity. Thou art the support of a family, art hospitable, and helpest people labouring under calamities and misfortunes.' Then Khodaijah betook herself to Waraqah, explained the matter to him, and he gave her the information recorded above.

[149] Quran, ch. lxviii. 1.

It is said that after the [first] revelation, and the instructions concerning ablutions and prayers [had been vouchsafed to Muhammad], the revelations were interrupted for a long time. For this reason his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—became so melancholy that he intended on several occasions to throw himself down from the top of the mountain; each time, however, Jebrâil presented himself, and said: 'O Muhammad, thou art indeed the prophet of Allah!' These words always pacified his august mind and comforted it, whereon he returned to his house.

There is a tradition according to which Jaber Bin A'bdullah said: 'The apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—said: "When the revelation ceased, I was walking on the road, and heard suddenly a voice from heaven. I looked up, and beheld the angel who had descended to me in the cave of Hira. I beheld him sitting on a chair between heaven and earth. Fear and trepidation overwhelmed me; I returned to the house, and exclaimed: 'Wrap and cover me up.' Therefore they put something over me, and the Most High afterwards sent the revelation: 'O thou covered one, arise and preach, and magnify thy Lord. And cleanse thy garments, and fly every abomination,'" etc.'[150]

THE MANNER OF THE DESCENT OF THE REVELATION, AND SOME VARIETIES THEREOF.

One way of revelation is by means of a true dream, as chroniclers relate that true visions constitute one of the forty-six parts of prophecy. There is a tradition of A'aishah that she said: 'The first thing that impels the apostle of Allah is a true vision.' Another way was that Jebrâil appeared to him in his own form, without changing it, and thus communicated the Divine message. Another manner was that Jebrail appeared to his lordship in human shape and recited to him the verses of the Quran with the words of the Lord. Another was that Jebrâil inspired his blessed heart with secret matters, although his lordship did

[150] Quran, ch lxxiv 1-4

not see him, and Allah the Most High has said: 'The Faithful Spirit has inspired thy heart therewith, that ye both may be preachers.' At other times his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—obtained revelations sounding like bells,[151] and this manner was the strongest and most difficult, so that if he happened on such occasions to be mounted on a camel, both its fore-feet bent themselves.[152] A'aishah says that when a revelation descended upon his lordship during severe cold weather, she had, nevertheless, on account of the great pains he felt, seen the perspiration dripping from his blessed forehead. It is related that one day, when the lord of apostleship—u. w. b. —was sitting in the area before the Ka'bah, O'thmân Bin Mutta'vum arrived, and accosted him with much civility. His lordship invited him to take a seat, which he did; but suddenly the lord of apostleship lifted his blessed eyes to heaven, then looked down to the ground, as well as on his right side. He appeared to O'thmân in the attitude of one who is being taught. He pointed to his own head, and some time afterwards again looked at the sky; then again glanced at O'thman, who further relates: 'I said: "O apostle of Allah, I have never seen thee in the state I behold thee this day." He replied that a messenger had arrived from his majesty the Lord of both worlds, and had brought him a message; and on my asking what it was, he exclaimed: "Verily Allah commands you to act justly and kindly, to cherish your relatives, to abstain from profligacy, from iniquity, and from cheating each other; perchance you will remember."[153] From that time faith again took possession of my heart, and love for the apostle —u. w. b.—overpowered my soul.'

It is related that Zu-n-nûrin[154] said: 'I was one day

[151] Ebn Sa'd, etc. 'Manchesmal kommt sie zu mir wie das Lauten von Glockchen." 'Das Leben,' etc., of Dr Sprenger, vol. i, p. 272.

[152] 'Das Kameel, auf dem er ritt schaumte die Beine beughten sich,' *ibid.*

[153] Qurân, ch. xvi. 92. This passage is translated somewhat differently by Sale.

[154] This means 'endued with two lights,' and is an epithet of the narrator, O'thmân.

sitting near the apostle of Allah; his lordship had placed both his knees upon mine and recited the blessed verse, "Shall those who remain sitting be equal with the believers?"[155] which I wrote down. On that occasion the blind woman, Omm Maktûm, entered and said: "O apostle of Allah, if I do not, because I cannot, go to war, I must be excused." Hereon immediately the words "Except those who are afflicted" were revealed.' O'thmân said also: 'By the descent of the load of the revelation the blessed body of his lordship became so heavy that I feared my thighs would break.' Let it not remain hidden that such phenomena manifested themselves when the revelation was communicated according to the fifth manner.

A List of the Happy Individuals who attained the Felicity of Religion at the Beginning of the Mission of the Prophet—u. w. b.

The U'lama of the nation agree that the first person the stature of whose ability became honoured by the robe of the religion was Khodaijah; but a number of pious men assert that A'li, the son of Abu Tâleb—u. w. b.—was made happy by becoming the first proselyte to the faith, and after him Zaid Bin Hâreth, the freed slave of the prince of existences, was exalted by that gift, and after that Abu Bakr believed the words of the prophet—u. w. b. The traditions now related may, however, also be adjusted as follows: The first person who believed in the prophetship of the prince of the righteous was Khodaijah, the first who confessed it was Ali the select—u. w. b.—and the first who attached himself to his lordship was Zaid Bin Hâreth. The priority of these three in believing the words of Ahmed, the chosen receptacle of the blessings of the Almighty Sovereign, is made clear as follows: 'Sidiq Akbar[156] was the first man, A'li Murtaza [*i.e.*, the select] the first boy,

[155] In ch. ix. of the Qurân the above passage occurs, with many others, concerning those who remained sitting at home, and would not go forth to fight for the prophet

[156] This is an epithet of Abu Bakr, and means the 'greater veracious one.'

and Zaid Bin Hâreth the first liberated slave, who had professed the religion; and as for the priority of Khodaijah, it needs no explanation. By the blessing of their sanctified utterances, O'thmân Bin U'ffân, Zobeir Bin Ala'wâm, Tolhah Bin A'bdullah, Sa'ad Bin Abu Woqâss, and A'bd-ur-rahman Bin A'wuf, who belonged to the evangelistic family, entered the assembly of his lordship the refuge of termination [of prophecy], and pronounced the beautiful *Kalimat.*[157]

It is recorded that when Sidiq became a Musalmân he caused the next day O'baidah Bin Jarrâh, Abu Moselamah Makhzûmi, O'thmân Bin Mutta'vum, and Râfum Bin Alarqum, to wait upon the prince of men and genii—u. w. b.—that they might become believers, monotheists and Moslems. On that occasion, also, A'mar Bin Yasar, with his mother Mimanah, O'baidah Bin-ul-Hâreth Bin A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, Sa'ad Bin Nafil, Ebn Omm A'mru, Hailâl, Sahib, Janâb Bin Arath, A'bd-ullah Musa'vur Ahazli, A'amer Bin Quhbarah, Khis Bin Hozaqah, Khâled Bin Sa'aid Ala'ass, A'bbâs Bin Abu Rabia'h, A'bdullah Bin Mahash Allasadi, with a number of other men and women, whose names have been recorded in biographies, successively made their profession of the Faith.

Reasons why his Lordship Muhammad Musstafa—u. w. b.—protected and educated A'li Murtaza—May Allah ennoble his Reputation—and how Abu Tâleb was informed of the Mission of his Lordship, and followed the Example of his own Son.

The principal historians relate that once there was a great famine in Mekkah, and that dearth prevailed among the Qoraish. At that time Abu Taleb had but little property, but a numerous family; therefore his holy and prophetic lordship said to A'bbâs, who was distinguished

[157] *Kalimat* means 'the word,' but here the perfected word is designated, namely, the profession of the Faith, embodied in the following expression: 'No god but Allah! Muhammad apostle of Allah!'

among his contemporaries by the extent of his possessions: 'Abu Tâleb is poor, and has a large family to support, accordingly we must try to lighten his burden during this year of scarcity, and each of us must take charge of one of his sons.' A'bbâs having approved of this proposal. they went to Abu Tâleb's house, explained the matter to him, and he replied: 'Leave me, O'quail, and do with the rest as you like.' After they had agreed on this point, his lordship the asylum of termination—u. w. b.—took A'li—u. w. b.—to his sacred house, and A'bbâs took Ja'far. A'li Murtaza—u. w. b.—was cherished by the protection of the prince of existences until he was ten years old. When Jebrâil appeared to his lordship commanding him to perform his orisons with two prayer flexions, A'li Murtaza happened to see his lordship engaged in prayers with Khodaijah; but as he perceived nought in front of them during their protractions, he was astonished, and asked after they had terminated: 'O Muhammad, what art thou doing?' His lordship replied: 'This is the religion which Allah the Most High has selected for himself, and I invite thee to believe in Him who has no partner.' According to one tradition A'li made his profession of the Faith on the very same day; but according to another he replied: 'I can do nought without first consulting Abu Tâleb.' But as his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—was unwilling that the matter should be divulged on that day, he said: 'O A'li, if thou wilt not profess Islâm, at least conceal it.' The boy meditated on the subject during that night. Allah inspired his heart to profess Islâm, and when the love thereof had taken root in the mind of that model of piety, he said the next morning to the lord of prophets: 'What proposest thou to me?' His lordship replied: 'To bear witness that there is but one God. To renounce Lât and U'zza, and to abstain from apostasy.' Accordingly he made his profession of the Faith on the spot.

In the *Fazâil-ahl-beit* it is recorded that his prophetic lordship received the mission on Monday, and that A'li—u. w. b.—was made happy by professing the religion on the

second day after the mission—*i.e.*, on Tuesday—but kept the matter secret from Abu Tâleb, and was saying prayers with his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—in the recesses of the mountains. One day Abu Tâleb happened to be looking for them, but being unable to find where they were, he made inquiries from Fattimah, the mother of A'li—u. w. b.—and she said: 'A'li is greatly attached to Muhammad, and I dread lest he be engaged in a matter contrary to the religion of our fathers and ancestors.' Abu Tâleb replied: 'My son does not engage in such affairs without my approbation and advice.' He, nevertheless, went in search of A'li, and discovered him in a mountain gorge with Muhammad. When A'li saw his father he became frightened, but Abu Tâleb asked: 'What religion is this?' And his lordship answered: 'This is a religion which Allah the Most High has selected for Himself, and for the propagation whereof He has sent prophets.' Hereupon the prince of existences invited his uncle to profess the orthodox religion and to aid him. Abu Tâleb retorted: 'My soul does not allow me to abandon the Faith of my ancestors, to renounce idolatry and the religion of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb. Be thou, however, steadfast in the mission thou hast received, for as long as I am alive I shall protect and aid thee, and shall never betray thee to any foe. I shall ward off from thee the wicked machinations of enemies until Allah the Most High completes the matter whereunto He has sent thee.' After that he turned to A'li Murtaza—u. w. b.—and said: 'O A'li, be not afraid to become the first proselyte of the religion of thy uncle's son and to follow the excellent Faith, because Allah—whose name be glorified—will be your keeper, guardian, and protector.'

There is also a tradition that one day Abu Taleb entered a mountain-pass with his son Ja'far, where he perceived his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—and A'li the [future] commander of the faithful—u. w. b.—engaged in prayers. Abu Tâleb said to Ja'far: 'Join the wing of the son of thy uncle.' Accordingly, the latter stood by the side of the prophet and prayed with him, his lordship the

asylum of termination uttering the following invocation in his favour: 'The blessing of Allah be on thee and thy wings, for their bird will be in paradise.' No doubt the Lord—whose name be magnified and exalted—responded to this prayer of His favourite by causing Ja'far to attain martyrdom[158] in the war of Mautah, and by bestowing on him two wings, wherewith to soar about in the gardens of paradise, for which he is now called the 'flying Ja'far.'

It is related that when Abu Tâleb ordered Ja'far to obey the prophet his lordship was much pleased and rejoiced. When Abu Tâleb returned home Fattimah, the daughter of Asad and mother of A'li Murtaza—u. w. b.—asked him: 'Where is thy son?' He queried: 'What wouldst thou do with him?' She continued: 'A girl informed me that he is praying with Muhammad in a certain mountain-pass, and wouldst thou permit A'li to secede?' Abu Tâleb retorted: 'Be quiet and do not mind him, for he is right in taking the part of his uncle's son Muhammad. If my soul were to allow me to renounce the faith of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb and to follow him, I would certainly do so.' When these sentiments became public among the Qoraish they were greatly offended and afraid.

A trustworthy authority records as follows: 'Once I had come to Mekkah during the time of the prilgrimage for the purpose of trading, and was purchasing goods at Mina from A'bbâs, when suddenly a man came out from an adjoining large tent, looked at the sun, and began to pray. A woman in his rear followed with a full-grown boy and imitated him. I asked A'bbas who these people were, and he said to me: "The man is Muhammad Bin A'bdullah, the son of my brother, and the woman is his wife Khodaijah, the daughter of Khoilad, and the boy is A'li Bin Abu Tâleb, the son of my brother." I asked: "What are they doing?" He said: "They are praying. Muhammad pretends to be a prophet, and says that the empires of the Qaissar and Kesra[159] will be conquered by his followers;

[158] Anyone falling in battle against infidels is a martyr.
[159] The Byzantine and the Persian empire.

but up to this time no other persons are adhering to him except these two."' The author of this tradition some time afterwards made his profession of Islâm, and said: 'Had I at that time been exalted by the blessing of Islâm and monotheism, I should be second only to A'li for all time to come.' There is also a tradition that A'li said: 'I prayed with the prophet before the people nine hundred and seven times.'

ABU BAKR SIDIQ—M. A. R. H.—PROFESSES ISLÂM.

There are various narratives recording the circumstances under which the sun of eternal grace first threw a ray of grace upon the heart of this happy man; one of these is the account contained as follows in the chronicle of Ebn Ahmed: After Zaid Bin Alhâreth had professed Islâm, Sidiq met the apostle of Allah on the road, and addressed him thus: 'Is it true what I have heard about thee—that thou hast interdicted the worship of our gods, hast accounted our wise men to be fools, and hast occupied thyself with uttering declarations that the religion of our fathers and ancestors is a false one?' His sacred and prophetic lordship answered: 'O Abu Bakr, I am the apostle of Allah and a prophet. He has sent me to promulge His message. I invite thee to believe in the God who is one and has no partner, and, by Allah! these words are true.' Hereon he recited with his wonderfully eloquent tongue several verses of the Qurân, whereon Sidiq made his profession of the religion. It is related in the *Mostaqassa* of Qâsim Bin Muhammad that the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—said: 'I never proposed Islâm to anyone but he had some excuse, repugnance, or procrastination [to plead] except Abu Bakr, for he did not study—*i.e.*, hesitate in his readiness to accept the Faith.' Sidiq being famous for his noble manners, good works, and laudable qualities, there was no one in Mekkah equal to him also in hospitality and the entertainment of strangers. The Qoraish were his intimate friends, associated constantly with him, and consulted him in their greatest difficulties. He was most learned in the know-

ledge of genealogies and of histories; scholars waited upon him and derived instruction from him; therefore he guided his friends and associates in the right way after he had been ennobled by professing Islâm, and explained to them the truthfulness, as well as the acceptability, of the words and signs of his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—so that by the blessing of his successful efforts many Qoraish grandees and Arab princes were by him led from the desert of aberration to the fountain-head of guidance, and their names have been recorded above.

After the Mission of the Prophet of the Latter Days the Satans are prohibited to approach Heaven, and Khosru Parviz, the King of Erân, is admonished.

It is related that before the mission the Satans used to ascend to heaven, each of them taking his position in a certain place, thus overhearing the conversations of the angels concerning the events of the world. Each of them, however, mixed a great deal of falsehood with the truth, and thus imparted it to mankind. When twenty days had elapsed after the appearance of prophecy and the honour of the mission, the Satans were—by means of inflamed shooting stars hurled against them—prohibited from listening stealthily, and lost their position in the sky. The first people who became aware of their having been stoned in this manner were the inhabitants of Tâif, each of whom began, according to his means, to sacrifice to idols, slaughtering sheep and camels, until at last they had scarcely any cattle left, and said to each other: 'Nearly all our animals have perished, but the stars of heaven have not diminished.' Therefore they ceased offering sacrifices. It is related that when Eblis witnessed this event he said: 'Something must have happened in the world,' and, in order to ascertain the matter, ordered the genii to bring some earth from every region, all of which he smelled, and when the turn of the soil of Tahâmah came, he said: 'In that country some memorable event must

have taken place;' and after inhaling the odour of that earth the fire of confusion blazed up in his heart and in the ill-nature of that accursed one, and the smoke of disappointment mounted into his brains.

One of the events that took place at the time of the mission was the admonition of Khosru Parviz, who awoke one morning from a heavy sleep and beheld that the cupola of his palace had received an injury. He therefore became melancholy and oppressed, assembled his soothsayers and astrologers, and said to them: 'Find out what this occurrence portends or may portend.' After considering the position of the celestial bodies, they replied: 'Allah is omniscient. But it appears that a great ruler will come forth from the region of Tahâmah and the country of Hejâz, whose religion will embrace the east and the west, and whose righteousness will civilize the inhabited world. The heads of the pulpits and the current coins of the various regions of the world will likewise be adorned and beautified by his blessed name and august titles.'

Distich In the east the pulpits will resound with his praise;
In the west the coins will be stamped with his name.

There is a tradition of Hasan Bossry that the noble companions of his lordship the best of existences asked him: 'What argument did Allah the Most High and Glorious use towards the Kesra with reference to thy mission?' That prince replied: 'The Most High had sent an angel, whose hand appeared through the wall of his castle, and shone so as to illuminate the whole apartment.' This phenomenon terrified the Kesra, and the angel said: 'The Most High has sent a prophet, and has given him His book; follow thou him, and thou wilt remain safe in this and in the next world.'

There is an authentic tradition that Khosru Parviz was sleeping in an apartment, when the inscrutable Creator sent an angel in the shape of a man, who appeared at the bedside of the Kesra with a staff in his hand, and said: 'O Kesra, wilt thou become a Musalmân, or shall I break this

staff?' Kesra replied: 'Let alone, let alone, and break it not.' The angel then disappeared, whereon Kesra called for the chamberlains and gate-keepers, whom he blamed for having admitted that man. They, however, all swore that they had not seen him, nor allowed anyone to enter. After the lapse of one year the same angel again appeared to Khosru, and invited him to profess Islâm, but he refused, and the angel broke the staff.

It is related in biographies that Khâled, who had been one of the chief Magi, but had at last become a Musalmàn, said: 'When Khosru was riding out on a certain occasion, and preceded by two troopers—but according to another tradition they were riding on his right and left hand—they said to him from time to time: "O Khosru, thou art a servant, and the son of a servant of God; for God the Most High alone is King!" He nodded affirmatively with his head to this remark. One day those two men accompanied him, according to their wont, and again repeated the same words, but received no confirmation of their assertion as usual. Therefore they complained to the Mobed of Mobeds, whom no one had ever restrained from entering Khosru's private apartments. Accordingly they went in to discuss this matter with the king, who was at that time asleep, but awakened by the voice of the Mobed and exclaimed: "Why hast thou aroused me, and not allowed me to complete my sleep? for I was in a dream borne beyond the seventh heaven, and carried before the Lord—may His glory be exalted and His honour magnified—where I perceived an individual wrapped in a Redâ, with an Izâr down to his feet, standing in that place. The Lord—m. h. g., etc.—said to me: "Surrender the keys of the treasuries of the surface of the earth to this man." I had heard thus far when the noise of thy feet awakened me.' It is related that the man with the Redâ and Izâr was our prophet—the blessing of Allah and peace be on him and on his family.

The Prophet—u. w. b.—first secretly invites the People [to accept Islâm], and afterwards promulges his Mission, by the Command of the Most High and Glorious Lord to all Mankind.

It is related that during three years his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—was secretly inviting the people to accept the immaculate Law, and some professed Islâm, one by one or two by two; and in connection with this matter the blessed verse, 'Obey to what thou art ordered, and avoid idolaters,'[160] was revealed. After that his lordship the refuge of the termination [of prophecy] began openly to invite the people to accept the upright faith and the straight road; and when the blessed verse, 'Admonish thy near relatives, and protect those believers who follow thee,'[161] was revealed, his lordship the seal of the prophets and prince of the illustrious—u. w. b.—went to Mount Safa and exclaimed: 'O tribe of the Qoraish!' Accordingly the people assembled, and asked for the reason of his calling them. His lordship replied: 'Would you believe me if I were to inform you that in the rear of this hill there is an army desirous of surprising you?' They answered: 'Yes; because thou art not suspected of falsehood, nor did we hear thee utter anything but truth and righteousness.' Then the favourite of the Gracious Sovereign and Mercy to mankind said: 'I warn you of a severe punishment!' Here Abu Lahab Bin A'bd-ul-Muttalleb interrupted him, asking: 'Is it for this that thou hast assembled us all in this day?' Therefore the Surah, 'The hands of Abu Lahab shall perish,'[162] was revealed on the spot.

Some traditions have it that when his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—ascended to Mount Safa, he exclaimed, 'O family of the Qoraish!' and that when the people had congregated he turned his blessed face towards

[160] This verse of the Qurân I was unable to find in it.
[161] Qurân, ch. xxvi. 214
[162] *Ibid.*, ch. cxi., which consists only of a few lines.

them, saying: 'Did you consider me to be a liar?' They replied: 'No.' He continued: 'Then be it known unto you that Allah has sent me to be an apostle to you!' and recited to them the words, 'O ye men, I am an apostle from Allah to you all!' But Abu Lahab said: 'My cousin has become demented; do not pay attention to what he says.' Accordingly the people dispersed.

In the *Fazâil-ahl-beit*[163] it is recorded that A'li Murtaza said: 'When the blessed verse "Admonish thy relatives" was revealed, his lordship the apostle ordered me to prepare food, to bring a pitcher of milk, and to convene his more near relatives who were scattered. Accordingly I invited forty of them to the repast, among whom were also Abu Tâleb, Hamzah, A'bbâs and Abu Lahab. When I got the meal ready, his lordship took up some meat with his blessed hand, tasted it, and put the remainder back near the dish, saying: "Take ye, in the name of Allah!" All of them ate and were filled, and I swear by Allah, in the grasp of whose power the life of A'li is, that one person alone might have consumed the whole meal, and that the thirst of all was quenched by that one pitcher of milk, which would not have sufficed one man. After drinking, and before his lordship the apostle had begun to speak, Abu Lahab turned towards the guests, and said: "O people, let him not prevail who is your companion, namely, Muhammad, who has practised magic." Then he said to the prophet—u. w. b.: "The Qoraish have not the strength to contend against all the Arab tribes, and my proposal is, so to coerce the Bani Hâshem as to deprive them for ever from every pleasure and joy. This would be easier to us than that all the Arabs should gird their loins to fight and wage war against us; nor did any one of our tribe or family ever machinate to bring such an evil upon us except thyself." These words of Abu Lahab displeased his lordship, but he remained silent, and the people dispersed.'

His lordship A'li Murtaza—u. w. b.—continues: 'On

[163] 'Excellencies of the members of the house [*i.e.*, family].'

another occasion the apostle of God said: "O A'li, Abu Lahab has been forward in speaking, as thou hast heard. Prepare thou again food as before" I did as he had bid me, and after the people as well as the family of his lordship had assembled, they ate and drank, whereon his lordship exclaimed, after praising the Creator and testifying to His unity: "I swear by Allah that, if I tell a falsehood to everybody, I shall not do so to you. I swear by that God besides whom there is no other, and who has raised me in truth, that I am an apostle of the Lord to you, and to all mankind. By Allah! you will die as if you were falling asleep, and you shall be resuscitated in the same way as you are awaking. Verily you shall have to account for all your acts, and shall receive rewards and punishments according to your deserts." '

A'li the Commander of the Faithful continues: 'I said: "I, who am younger than they, have believed and faithfully served thee, and would not sell the dust of thy feet for collyrium made of jewels." The apostle of Allah praised me, and said: "This is my brother and my legatee. Listen to what he says, and do not transgress his injunctions."' A'li the Commander of the Faithful says: 'At these words the people rose, and, roaring with laughter, said to Abu Táleb: "Seest thou how Muhammad has appointed thy son over thee, and has subjected thee to him?"' It is related that at the time when his holy and prophetic lordship invited the people to profess the religion, and paid no attention to the idols whom the Qoraish called gods, who knew nothing certain about the abode of their fathers and ancestors who had departed on their journey to eternity without the provisions of the Faith, the people paid no attention to his lordship, and when he happened to pass near a company of the Qoraish, they used to say: 'This is the grandson of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who gives news about heaven, and with whom the denizens of the upper world are conversing.' After some time had elapsed in this manner, the false gods were blamed in the verses of the Qurân, and the people were informed that their fathers who

had departed this life without the adornment of the Faith were condemned to suffer in hell; and as the glorious book was being revealed, the Arabs manifested enmity, and began to persecute the prince of the righteous and his noble companions.

THE WICKED AFFLICT HIS LORDSHIP, THE BEST OF MEN—U. W. B.—AND THE IRRELIGIOUS NATION PERSECUTES HIS NOBLE COMPANIONS—MAY ALLAH REWARD THEM.

Of the number of the idolaters who greatly distressed his lordship the refuge of the apostolate, Abu Lahab was one, and O'tbah Bin Moghairah another. Both these wicked men were living in the neighbourhood of the apostle of God—u. w. b.—and were in the habit of throwing offal with other impurities, which the prophet removed, and meekly said to them: 'O ye Bani A'bd Munâf, what kind of a neighbourly manner is this in which you are acting towards me?'

Tàruq Bin A'bdullah says: 'Once I beheld the apostle—u. w. b.—in the market-place of Zulmajâz exclaiming in a loud voice: "O ye people, say, 'There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah,' that ye may attain felicity." A man, however, was walking in his rear, throwing stones at him, and saying: "Do not listen to this liar!" I asked: "Who is this man that invites the people to monotheism?" They replied: "He is Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah." I queried further: "Who is the man throwing stones at him?" They replied: "His uncle A'bd-ul-a'ziz, namely, Abu Lahab." '

Quatrain: Relatives are like vultures,
Troubles are not removed by uncles,
Many a grief comes from an uncle,
Many an uncle refuses to do good.[164]

There is a tradition that his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—addressed the people as follows during the

[164] This quatrain is in Arabic, and contains a play on the words *A'mm*, *Khâl* and *Ghamm*, paternal uncle, maternal uncle and grief, which cannot be rendered in English.

time of the pilgrimage : 'Who will give me a place, and help to promulge the message of my Creator?' Many enemies, however, met foreign pilgrims on the road, and said to them: 'Alas! beware of Muhammad, lest ye be seduced by him.' They also delivered various speeches against his lordship, accusing him of soothsaying, magic, lunacy, and the like, by which he was much afflicted and distressed. Allah, however, the Most High and Glorious, revealed, for the consolation of his luminous mind, certain verses justifying him against these imputations, so that this prince wholly trusted to the favour of the Eternal, took firm hold of patience and meekness, concentrating his whole mind upon the sublime words of Allah, and continuing to invite the people to worship the Omnipotent and to abandon their idols, and to lead those who were wandering in the desert of ignorance to the fountain-head of knowledge, patiently enduring the insults of the wicked unbelievers.

Of the number of tricks played by the Qoraish, which became the occasion of punishment and misfortune to them, the following was one: His holy and prophetic lordship was one day saying his prayers near the house of the Ka'bah in the presence of Abu Jahl Bin Hesham and a number of the Qoraish. The eyes of Abu Jahl happened to alight on a membrane which envelops the fœtus in the womb, but comes out along with the infant, and exclaimed: 'Who will take up this caul, full of blood and dung as it is, and will place it between the shoulders of Muhammad when he makes his prostration?' Then that wicked fellow O'tbah Bin Abu Mo'itt, accursed in this world and in the next, executed this base proposal. But the prince of beings—upon whom be the most excellent of blessings and the most perfect salutations—did not raise his head from his devotions until Fattimah Zohra—u w. b.—having been informed of the event, came out and removed the membrane. When that chief of beings had completed his prayers, he said: 'O my God, the Qoraish are against Thee!' After having thus mentioned them in one word, he proceeded to name some of the Qoraish princes in detail, and said: 'O

my God, against Thee are Abu Jahl Bin Heshâm, Ot'bah Bin Abu Mo'itt, O'tbah Bin Abu Rabia'h, Ammiah Bin Khuluf, and O'mmârah Bin Wolid.' Therefore, all the individuals whose names his lordship the refuge of prophecy had mentioned perished in the combat of Bedr, except O'mmârah Bin Wolid, who, although he had not perished there, was sent in a more ignominious manner to the infernal regions than they, as shall be related in these pages by-and-by, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

A'bdullah Bin A'bbâs says that all the Qoraish had entered into a covenant to assassinate Muhammad—u. w. b.—as soon as they could get hold of him. Fattimah Zohra—u. w. b.—who had heard of this intention, went crying to her father, and informed him of the matter, whereon his lordship proceeded to the mosque of the sanctuary; but when the infidels beheld the prince of the righteous they were unable to do anything. Then his lordship the asylum of termination—u. w. b.—took up a handful of dust and threw it towards them, saying: 'Thy countenances are defiled!' And every one whose face had been touched by the dust was killed on the day of Bedr, and punished in hell-fire.

There is a tradition of O'rvah Bin Zobeir as follows. 'One day I asked A'bdullah Bin A'mru A'ass what had been the greatest insult offered by the idolaters to his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—and he replied: "One day that prince was sitting in the area of the Ka'bah, when O'tbah Bin Abu Mo'itt suddenly approached him and threw his Redâ around his blessed neck, squeezing it so as nearly to suffocate him. Sidiq immediately rushed upon that accursed fellow from the rear and delivered his lordship, saying: "Are you killing him who has brought the evident signs, and says that Allah is his nourisher?" Hereon all the idolaters attacked Abu Bakr, and pulled his moustache so violently that he got a tremendous headache. But if we were to attempt to notice all the tricks of the Qoraish with the pen of explanation, we could not do so; therefore we

have in this place abridged some and omitted some, but some are to be recorded hereafter.'

It is related that as long as Abu Tâleb was alive the idolaters could do no great harm to his lordship the apostle —u. w. b.—nor were they able to distress his noble and excellent companions, as much as they would have liked, because they were protected by their families and relatives; but poor believers, such as Hallâl, Habib, and O'mmâr Bin Yâser, were cruelly persecuted by them; some were made to lay down on hot sand, others were kept in the burning sun, tormented by hunger and thirst, in order to induce them to renounce the religion of Muhammad—u. w. b. Some Musalmans who had no power of endurance uttered the words prompted by the unhallowed infidels. On the other hand, some noble companions who were able to suffer pains remained steadfast, and selected under the most grievous torments patience and meekness for their watchwords. It is related that Samiah, the mother of O'mmâr Bin Yâser, had been tied between two camels as a punishment, and that one of the idolaters killed her suddenly by piercing her with a lance. Her husband Yâser was assassinated in another manner and sent to the gardens of paradise; and these were the first individuals among the adherents of the prophet—u. w. b.—who tasted the beverage of martyrdom.

In some books these events are narrated as follows: In the morning O'mmar Bin Yâser had pronounced the words suggested by the idolaters, and the prophet—u. w. b.—having been informed of the circumstance, exclaimed: 'Allah forbid that he should become an infidel; for verily he is replete with the faith from head to foot, and it permeates his flesh, blood, and skin.' When O'mmâr was released by the infidels he came to the prophet and wept. On account of the molestation of these people, his lordship passed his blessed hands over O'mmar's eyes and dried his tears, saying: 'I shall retaliate upon them and tell them [again] what I have said.' Some commentators declare that the blessed verse, 'Who becomes an infidel after pro-

fessing the Faith, except who is forced, his heart being happy in the Faith,' etc., was revealed on the above occasion, but Allah knows best!

The author of these lines says that as the Qoraish deemed the Qurân to be powerless, and only a human fabrication, it is strange that they nevertheless persecuted his lordship the apostle and his noble companions, and wanted Abu Tâleb to surrender his lordship to them, that they might slay him, and persecuted the adherents of the religion so much that they preferred to emigrate, which is the greatest calamity, and went to Abyssinia, as shall be narrated in detail, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

The Idolaters consider the Qurân to be powerless, and persist in their Obstinacy and Infidelity.

It is related that the Qoraish one day assembled in the house of Wolid Bin Moghairah—who was at that time distinguished above all his contemporaries by his powerful intellect, venerable age, great property and multitude of children; he was also a patron of poets and orators, who addressed their compositions to him, and whose arguments were decisive in every subject—and asked him whether the speeches of Muhammad were rhetorical, or had something to do with magic and soothsaying? But he answered that this question could be decided only after hearing what Muhammad had to say. Therefore he arose, paid a visit to his lordship—u. w. b.—who was sitting in his apartment, and asked: 'O Muhammad, recite some of thy poetry.' Hereon his holy and prophetic lordship uttered, with his wonderfully eloquent tongue, the words: 'In the name of Allah, the merciful, the clement!' When Wolid heard the word 'merciful,' he said by way of derision: 'Thou callest on the name of a man who dwells in Yamâmah, and is called Merciful!' He meant Musailamah, the false prophet, who was nicknamed 'the Merciful one of Yamamah.' His lordship, however, replied: 'No! I call upon the name of Allah, who is merciful and clement.'

After that he recited the chapter of Adoration H. M.,[165] and when he reached the verse '*If they* [the Mekkans] withdraw from these [instructions], say, I denounce unto you a sudden destruction, like the destruction of A'ad and Thamûd,'[166] the hair on Wolid's body commenced to bristle up and his skin was nearly bursting; therefore he immediately returned home without entering the assembly of the Qoraish. Afterwards the people said to Abu Jahl: 'O Abu-l-Hukm,[167] thy uncle has professed the religion of Muhammad, and therefore he has not come to us.' Accordingly Abu Jahl went to the house of Wolid, and said: 'Uncle, why hast thou received the religion of Muhammad and hast been misguided?' Wolid replied: 'I profess the religion of my fathers and ancestors, but I heard difficult words, so that the skin of my body was bursting.' Abu Jahl queried further: 'Was it poetry?' He replied: 'No!' Then he asked whether it was oratory, and Wolid said: 'Oratory is composed of connected words, but these are disjointed, and do not resemble each other; they nevertheless have a grace and fluency not existing in any other form of speech.' Abu Jahl further asked: 'Is it soothsaying?' He replied: 'No.' 'Then what is it?' He said: 'Leave me to meditate on this subject.' Then Abu Jahl, who had asked the same questions the next day, and was convinced that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—was innocent of magic, nevertheless said [to himself]: 'I shall impute sorcery to Muhammad, because such an accusation will be most readily accepted, and will give rise to discussions between wives and husbands, fathers and sons.'

Meanwhile, however, Allah the Most High and Glorious had revealed the following verse with reference to Wolid: 'Let Me alone with him whom I have created, on whom I have bestowed abundant riches and children dwelling in

[165] This is ch. xli. of the Qurân.
[166] *Ibid.*, 12. Details about the destruction of these places are given in Part I, vol. i., of this work, pp. 98 and 111.
[167] Abu Jahl means 'father of ignorance.' and Abu-l-Hukm 'father of wisdom.'

his presence'[168] till the end. This event is in some chronicles related in another manner, but as the gist thereof amounts to the fact that Wolid had, after consulting the Qoraish and discussing this subject with them, accused the prophet of sorcery, and attributed thereto also the words of the Lord revealed concerning himself, therefore the author has refrained from details.

We read in some traditions that when Wolid waited on his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and requested him to recite something from the Qurân, his lordship pronounced the verse: 'Verily Allah commandeth justice, and the doing of good, and the giving unto kindred [what shall be necessary]; and He forbiddeth wickedness and iniquity, and oppression; He admonisheth you that you may remember'[169] And Wolid stated that these verses possessed a freshness and pleasantness such as no man does or can invent.

Some of the principal historians have related that when the idolatrous Qoraish saw the number of the companions of his lordship the best of men—u. w. b—augmenting day by day, they agreed to send a man learned in poetry and skilled in the arts of soothsaying and magic to his lordship, to induce him by fair speeches, or in any possible way, to desist from his mission and from the promulgation of his message. The lot fell upon O'tbah Bin Rabia'h, who was one of the Qoraish U'lâma, and who, puffed up with hopes that his artifices would take effect, went to the prince of men and genii, who happened to be sitting in the mosque of the sanctuary, but the poor fellow did not recollect

Hemistich: The difference between an extinguished lamp and sunlight.

It is related that when O'tbah approached his lordship the best of men, he exclaimed: 'O Muhammad, a great calamity has arisen among the Qoraish! Thou hast denounced their gods as vanities, hast endeavoured to seduce the people from the religion of their forefathers,

[168] Qurân, ch. lxxiv. 11-13. [169] *Ibid.*, ch. xvi. 92.

hast disgraced us among the Arabs, and hast considered our wise men to be fools. If thou art ambitious of power, we shall unanimously make thee our ruler. If lust has enticed thee to embark in this business, we shall procure thee any maiden thou mayest covet; but if want and poverty be the cause, we shall give thee so much property that none of the Qoraish will be able to cope with thee in riches; and lastly, if some disease [of the mind] has impelled thee to this step, we shall produce a skilled physician, and will spend as much property as may be required to cure thee.' When O'tbah had terminated this foolish harangue, his lordship asked: 'Hast thou finished thy speech?' He replied: 'Yes.' Then the prophet recited: 'In the name of Allah, the merciful, the clement! A revelation from the merciful, the clement,' etc.[170] There is a tradition that whilst his holy and prophetic lordship was reciting this chapter O'tbah had folded his arms over each other and was listening. When his lordship had reached the verse of adoration he prostrated himself, and then, raising his head, bade O'tbah to go away. When the people of O'tbah saw him arrive they exclaimed: 'Abu-l-Wolid is returning disappointed.' When O'tbah reached them he said: 'By Allah! I have heard words the like of which I have never listened to before. By Allah! these words do not at all resemble magic or soothsaying. O ye Qoraish, receive my advice with approbation, and do not injure him, because his words presage great things and events. If the Arab tribes overcome him, your wishes will be fulfilled; but if he prevails over them, his power will be your power, and his glory your glory, and you will be the happiest people.' The Qoraish replied: 'O Abu-l-Wolid, we swear by Allah that Muhammad has bewitched thee with his words!' But O'tbah rejoined: 'I have told you my opinion; do as you like.'

[170] This is the beginning of ch. xli. of the Qurân.

The Qoraish go in their Rage and Folly to Abu Tâleb, but return confounded and disappointed.

The U'lâma of biographies—may Allah have mercy on them—have related that when the Qoraish heard his holy prophetic lordship reproving and cursing their vain idols, they sent a deputation to Abu Tâleb with the following address: 'Thou art a chieftain and a prince among the Qoraish. Mete out justice to us against thy brother's son Muhammad. Prohibit him from reviling our gods, and we shall also leave him to his own God.' Hereon Abu Tâleb called the noble one of the family Lowa Bin Ghâlab [*i.e.*, Muhammad], and said to him: 'All thy people ask for justice and restraining thee from maligning their gods, on condition that they will likewise abandon thee to thy God!' The prophet replied: 'I am *inviting them to something* better than that, and on account of which the Arabs will obey them, and will also become the masters of Persia.' Abu Jahl asked: 'What is it, that we may do it ten times over?' That prince exclaimed: 'Say, "There is no god but Allah!"' The people asked: 'Requirest thou from us anything else besides this?' He replied: 'If the sun were to be taken down from heaven, and placed into my hands, I would not say anything else.' Hearing these words, the Qoraish became angry, rose, and said: 'We curse thee and thy God, and shall never abandon our gods.'

Muhammad Bin Esahâq says that when the Qoraish had learnt that Abu Tâleb was guarding and protecting his lordship the apostle, they invented the stratagem of taking O'mmârah Bin Wolid Bin Moghairah—who was distinguished above all other Arab youths by his handsome stature, pleasant face, beautiful aspect and agreeable conversation—to Abu Tâleb, and said: 'This youth is the best and handsomest of the Qoraish boys; adopt him to be thy son, and surrender Muhammad to us, that we may kill him, because in his religion he opposes thee and thy ancestors. He has caused *dissensions in our* tribe; he is insulting us and considers our men to be fools. We offer thee one man

for another.' But he replied: 'It is an evil suggestion you make to me to surrender my son to you to be killed, and to adopt a stranger. No intelligent man would ever follow such advice.' Hereon Moa'zem Bin A'da said: 'By Allah! the people have acted justly, that no evil may befall thee.' Abu Tâleb replied: 'There is no justice in thee, who endeavourest to procure an opportunity for the people to injure me as they like.' When the idolaters perceived that on account of Abu Tâleb's protection they could not get hold of the apostle—u. w. b.—they laid the foundations of enmity by insulting him more and more, as well as his companions; but the Lord—whose name be glorified—kept and protected His prophet by His eternal favour from the evil designs of the idolaters. Abu Tâleb on his part watched over and protected his lordship the refuge of the apostolate — u. w. b. — most carefully. But when the apostle of men and demons saw that the idolaters persecuted his companions to the utmost, he advised them to emigrate.

The Monotheists leave Mekkah and depart secretly to Abyssinia.

In the fifth year of the mission eleven men and four women left Mekkah by the permission of the lord of the apostolate—u. w. b.—as emigrants to Abyssinia, walking as far as the seashore, where they found a ship, in which they sailed for that country, where they remained under the protection of the Najâshi, the king of it, in comfort, and secure from the machinations of the wicked.

It is related that after the emigration of that company the Surah 'The Star'[171] was revealed; and as his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—was for the propagation of the religion in the habit of occasionally reciting the evident verses to the obstinate and idolatrous, he happened, after the revelation of the just-mentioned Surah, to be reciting it in the mosque of the sanctuary in the presence of a company of the Qoraish. When his lordship came to the

[171] Ch. liii. of the Qurân.

words 'What think ye of Al-Lât and Al-U'zza and Manah, that other third [goddess]?'[172] Satan made use of this opportunity and conveyed instead of them the following words by his [Muhammad's] wonderfully eloquent tongue to the idolaters: 'These are the exalted *Gharâniq*,[173] and, indeed, their intercession may be expected,' which expression greatly exhilarated and rejoiced the image-worshippers. After the termination of this Surah his lordship touched the ground with his blessed head in sign of adoration, which was done also by the opponents and idolaters present in that congregation, except by the impure Wolid, who, being unable to prostrate himself on account of his corpulency and old age, took up some earth with his hand, and placed his unhallowed forehead thereon. Some authors, however, attribute this act to Ammiah Bin Khuluf and to other persons. When the idolaters arose from the assembly, they said to each other: 'We know that the keys of life and death, as well as the food of mankind, are in the grasp of the Most High and Glorious One, therefore we must acknowledge our gods to be [only] our mediators with Allah the Most High; and as Muhammad has now honourably mentioned our gods, and we agree on this subject, we must refrain from insulting and persecuting him.' It is related that [on this occasion] Wolid Bin Moghairah said to his lordship: 'O Muhammad, persevere in thy enterprise, for the Qoraish follow and obey thee. We shall second and aid thy efforts until thy Law is propagated in the whole world, and the structure of the castle of thy religion is strengthened.' It is related that when, after this event, his sacred and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had returned to his august mansion, Jebrâil arrived and informed his lordship about Satan's inspiration, which greatly distressed and troubled the prophet. There-

[172] Qurân. ch. liii. 19.

[173] See footnote 18, where the meanings of this word are given, which, however, Sale renders by 'damsels,' in explaining ch. xxii. 51. In my Preface I quote the above verse, with several others which were abrogated, and therefore do not occur in the Qurân, as being the words of Satan.

fore the Bounteous Giver sent for the consolation of his noble mind the following verse: 'We have sent no apostle or prophet before thee, but when he read, Satan suggested [*some error*] in his reading. But Allah shall make void that which Satan hath suggested—then shall Allah confirm his signs, for Allah is knowing and wise.'[174] When the Qoraish heard this verse, they said: 'As Muhammad has repented of mentioning the high dignity of our gods to the Most High, we shall likewise break our covenant, as well as the peace.' Accordingly the followers of the bad religion retracted their promise, and considered it their greatest happiness to persecute and to insult Musalmâns.

Cause of the Return of the Exiles from Abyssinia, and their Second Departure to that Country.

When O'thmân, Abu Khodaiqah Bin O'tbah Bin Rabia'h, Zobeir Bin Ala'vàm, A'bd-ur-rahman Bin A'wuf heard that the idolaters had submitted, they deemed it best to return to the noble city of Mekkah, in the neighbourhood whereof they arrived after duly performing the journey. But there they were informed that the people had retracted their conciliatory steps and had again begun to persecute and to injure the professors of Islâm. As they thought it very hard again to retrace their steps to Abyssinia, each of the monotheists took refuge with an inhabitant and entered Mekkah, except A'bdullah Bin Masu'd, who alignted at his own house without a protector. Some assert that the last-mentioned individual was one of the refugees of the second emigration, who went again to Abyssinia with a great multitude of companions and the permission of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—on account of the persecutions of the infidels, which increased day by day. The idolaters sent A'mru A'ass and O'mmârah Bin Wolid with gifts and presents to the Najâshi, hoping that he would comply with their request and surrender the refugees to the envoys. It is related that whilst on the voyage

[174] Qurân, ch. xxii. 51.

these two individuals happened to quarrel in a drinking bout in so violent a manner that O'mmârah watched his opportunity and threw A'mru overboard; the latter, however, took hold of the edge of the ship and was saved by the crew from that peril; but he nursed his rancour in his heart until the time arrived when he was able to take revenge upon his foe during their sojourn at the court of the Najâshi, as follows: One day both of them were sitting in the assembly of the Najâshi, one of whose most beautiful slave girls was now and then casting glances at O'mmârah during the audience, he being a young man of very pleasing appearance. When the meeting was over the envoys returned home, and A'mru said to O'mmârah: 'I found that girl of the king inclined towards thee. Make friendship with her, and ask some of the king's special perfume from her, because she may possibly aid us in our negotiations.' Accordingly, O'mmârah commenced, by the intervention of an accommodating friend, a love intrigue with the girl, and obtained some perfume from her, which A'mru got hold of, took to the king, and said: 'My companion had intercourse with your majesty's slave-girl, and this perfume which she sent to O'mmârah is a proof of it.' The Najâshi was so irritated by this information that he intended to slay the culprit; on second thoughts, however, he considered it improper to shed the blood of a man who had entered the country on a promise of safety, therefore he appointed sorcerers over him, who blew mercury into his sexual organ, in consequence whereof he avoided mankind and associated with animals. He wandered about in the desert until a company of the Qoraish laid a snare, caught, and imprisoned him; but his captivity distressed him so much that he soon departed to the infernal regions.

The Qoraish Envoys meet the Najâshi, request him to surrender the Refugees, and Ja'far Bin Abu Tâleb harangues him in that Assembly.

When A'mru A'ass and O'mmârah Bin Wolid arrived in Abyssinia, they were, by means of the gifts and offerings

they had brought, introduced through the favourites and courtiers to an audience, on entering which they prostrated themselves before the Najâshi according to the custom of the country, presented their letters of introduction, and said: 'A number of young men of our nation have adopted a religion different from ours, as well as from your majesty's —*i.e.*, from Christianity—have without our knowledge come to this country, and have comfortably established themselves therein. Our petition to your majesty is that they be surrendered to us, so that we may convey them back to our people.' This request was also supported by a patriarch who, being a courtier of the Najâshi, had been suborned by gifts from the Qoraish, and seconded the wishes of A'mru and of O'mmârah. The Najashi, however, being incensed with anger [at this demand], said: 'By God! I shall not do that. I shall not surrender persons who have taken refuge with me, and have settled in my country, into the hands of their enemies. I shall, however, call them and hear what they have to say.' In accordance with this decision, the Enjil [Gospel] was produced, the Christians were convened, and the refugees sent for. When the king's message had been communicated to the professors of Islâm, they consulted with each other what to say if they were to be examined concerning the tenets of their religion; but the Flying Ja'far,[175] who was one of the emigrants, said: 'The best for us is to profess what Allah and the apostle have published.' All assented to this declaration, and elected him for their spokesman. They went to the assembly, but when they entered it they did not perform the salutations and prostrations required by the usage of the country, and this want of respect having been noticed by the courtiers, Ja'far said: 'By the command of our prophet we prostrate ourselves to no one except to the only true God.' These words awed the Najâshi, and he said to Ja'far: 'The envoys of the Qoraish want me to surrender you to them.' Ja'far then exclaimed: 'O king, ask

[175] See footnote 158 and the passage to which it refers.

the envoys whether they claim us as slaves.' This question A'mru hastened to answer, saying: 'Allah forbid that these men should be slaves. They are all free and noble.' Ja'far continued: 'Are we under any obligations to them which they might claim?' A'mru replied: 'They are indebted to none of us.' Ja'far further queried: 'Have we shed the blood of any person for which they might retaliate?'

Amru: 'We have none of these claims.'

Ja'far: 'Then what do you want from us?'

Amru (turning to the Najâshi): 'O king, these people have adjured our religion and that of our ancestors; they have insulted, and are insulting, our gods in order to pervert the principles of our young men, and for this reason our unanimity has been turned into discontent. Surrender them to us that we may restore the ancient order of things.'

The majority of chroniclers relate that on this occasion the Najâshi said to Ja'far: 'A'mru and O'mmârah have brought a message from the Qoraish that you renounced their religion, but are following neither Judaism nor Christianity. Inform us therefore about your religion.'

Ja'far: 'We followed their religion until the time when Allah the Most High and Glorious sent an apostle to us, whom we know to be an individual of noble descent and connections, of veracious speech and deeds. He is honest, peaceable, and forgiving; he has recited to us words not at all resembling human conceptions, and has, by evident proofs and convincing miracles, demonstrated his claim to be true. Therefore we have believed him and acknowledged him to be a prophet. He has invited us to profess monotheism and to reject all other religions. He has ordered us to abstain from all wickedness and sin, to observe the times of fasting and of prayer, to cherish our kindred, to pay our religious tax, to adhere to purity of morals, and to practise all laudable acts. But when the people became aware of our principles they stretched forth the hands of oppression, which we endured as long as we

could; but at last we complained to our prophet, who advised us to emigrate to your majesty's dominions, where we would remain free from the wicked attempts of our enemies in the shadow of the protection and the compassion of your majesty.'

The Najâshi 'Are you able to recite any of the words which have been revealed to your prophet?'

Accordingly, Ja'far began to recite the Sura K.H.Y.A.S.,[176] and when he came to the verse 'And eat and drink and calm thy mind,'[177] the Najâshi began to weep, so that tears trickled from his eyes upon his moustache, and the bishops, who, having opened the book [of the Gospels], were sitting around, cried so much that the moustache of every one, as well as the volume he had before him, became wet. The Najâshi then *said*: 'Verily this is the truth.' But according to another tradition he exclaimed: 'By God! these words are the same as those revealed to Mûsa [Moses], and have come from the courts of heaven.' Then he turned towards A'mru A'ass and O'mmârah, and said: 'By God! I shall not surrender this company to you, nor leave you together.'

Omm Solmah[178] says: 'When the Qoraish envoys returned disappointed and angry from the audience, A'mru A'ass said: "By Allah! I shall go to the Najâshi to-morrow, and shall annihilate them." A'bdullah Bin Rafia'h endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, but ineffectually; accordingly, he went the next morning to the Najâshi, and said: "These people maintain views contrary to yours with reference to I'sa [Jesus], because they pretend that He is a servant of God." The Najashi accordingly assembled the emigrants, and asked: "What do you say of I'sa?" Ja'far replied "I declare that Allah the Most High has said: 'He is the servant of Allah and His apostle, and His word wherewith He has impregnated Mariam; and a spirit from him.'" Hereon the Najashi took up a little wooden stick from the ground, and exclaimed: "There is

[176] Qurân, ch. xix., entitled 'Mariam' [Mary] [177] *Ibid*, 26

[178] This is the name of one of the relicts of Muhammad

no difference between what we and you say of I'sa—u. w. b. —blessed are ye, and blessed is he to whom you have come. I bear witness that he is an apostle of the Lord, because I'sa—u. w. b.—has proclaimed the tidings of his advent, and we have seen his description in the Enjil. Do you settle comfortable in my country, and I shall punish everyone who insults you. Should I be offered great sums of gold I would not surrender one of you. As God has given me the land without a bribe, so shall I take no bribe, and shall listen to no one" Then he returned the offerings and presents to the Qoraish.'

It is related that the father of the Najashi had no other son besides him, but had a brother who had twelve sons. The Abyssinians conspired to slay the father of the Najashi, and to raise his brother to the throne, by whose numerous sons the kingdom would afterwards be inherited, and would thus remain safe from the attempts of strangers. Accordingly they killed the father of the Najâshi and made his uncle king. Some time afterwards, when the Najashi had attained years of discretion, he entered the service of his uncle, who gradually began to appreciate his intelligence and penetration, allowing him the greatest authority in state affairs. When the persons who had been concerned in the murder of his father perceived his good fortune, and apprehended that he might at some future time himself become the ruler of the country after the decease of his uncle, and punish them for their crime, they represented their fears to the king, and proposed to him either to kill or to exile the prince. The monarch, however, replied: 'Woe unto you! Ere this you have assassinated his father, and now you want to murder him.' But as the Abyssinians pressed him beyond measure, he was compelled to separate himself from the prince, whom the grandees of the realm sold to a navigator. Meanwhile, however also the uncle of the Najâshi died, and none of his sons having been found worthy to govern after him, the nobles repented of their deed, went in search of the prince after the merchant, took him by force from the

purchaser, brought him to the capital, and seated him on the throne of dominion, and the words of the Najáshi, 'God the Most High has given me the land without a bribe,' refer to this event. It is related that the merchant returned to Abyssinia and wanted the ministers of the Najashi to refund to him the sum he had paid them, but as they refused to do so, he laid the following complaint before the king: 'Your majesty's courtiers had sold to me a slave, whom they afterwards again took away by force, and I hope a sense of equity and justice will induce your majesty to order them to return to me either the money or the slave.' This justice-loving sovereign was of opinion that if the words of this man were true, they would have to restore to him either the money or the man. Accordingly they paid down the price they had taken for the Najáshi; and this was the first regular judgment decreed by that religious monarch—may Allah have abundant mercy on him. In other chronicles, however, the sale of the Najashi is recorded in a different manner.

Hamzah Bin A'bd-ul-Muttalleb Bin Hâshem and O'mar Bin Al-Khattab—may Allah reward them—profess Islâm.

In the sixth year after the mission the prince of witnesses [i. e., martyrs], Hamzah Bin A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and O'mar Bin Al-Khattab, became participators in the happiness of the religion, and were invested with the robe of Divine knowledge. The reason of their, but particularly of Hamzah's, profession of Islâm was that Abu Jahl saw one day his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—sitting in the vicinity of Mount Safa. On account of his great folly, that miserable and impure fellow began to insult his lordship the best of men, the latter, however, very patiently endured the imprecations of that accursed man, and offered no resistance; but the slave-girl of A'bdullah Bin Juda'an was looking from the top of Mount Safa upon his lordship the Musstafa.[179] When Hamzah returned from the chase

[179] The elect, chosen, distinguished—an epithet of Muhammad.

he circumambulated the Ka'bah according to his usual custom, and the just-mentioned girl informed him of what had taken place. Then Hamzah went in pursuit of that accursed individual, saying: 'I shall taste neither food nor drink till I have revenged myself upon the person who has insulted Muhammad.' After that he went to the prophet —u. w. b.—who was sitting in the area of the Ka'bah, and said to him. 'Thy uncle has come to take vengeance on thy enemy.' His lordship answered. 'Let him alone who has no uncle, neither father nor mother, no man of business, nor wazir.' But Hamzah swore by Lat and U'zza, saying: 'I have come only to aid and to protect thee.' His lordship rejoined 'I swear by that God who has sent me in truth, that if thou fightest long enough against infidels to be drowned in their blood, thou wilt only be removed further and further from the Lord of unity, until thou sayest "I bear witness that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah."' Accordingly Hamzah pronounced this excellent *Kalimat*, entered the assembly of the Qoraish, wounded the head of Abu Jahl in seven places, and made a public profession of Islam, but in some chronicles it is related that he first broke the head of Abu Jahl, then went to the assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship —u w b.— and became a Musulmân. In short, his lordship the refuge of termination was greatly rejoiced at Hamzah's profession of Islam, his noble companions were comforted and emboldened, and the disappointed infidels abstained from insulting his lordship by word or deed

The most correct tradition on the conversion of O'mar to Islâm is as follows· When the verse 'Ye, and what ye worship besides Allah, will be projected into fire, ye will descend to hell,' was revealed and promulged. Abu Jahl rose in the assembly of the Qoraish and said 'O men, Muhammad reproves our and your gods, considers your wise men to be fools, and says that your fathers are, together with the gods they have worshipped, the fuel of hell-fire. Now, I proclaim that anyone who shall kill Muhammad will

receive from me one thousand red she-camels and one thousand Oqiahs of red gold.'[180] But according to another tradition he said 'one hundred red-haired and black-eyed camels, with one thousand Oqiahs of white bullion-silver.' O'mar Bin Al-Khattâb, who was present in that company, replied: 'O Abu-l-Hukm! there must be a security for this promise.'

Abu Jahl: 'As I intend to make payment immediately, there will be no need for any security.'.

Omar: 'Swear by Lât and by U'zza that thy tongue agrees with thy heart.'

Hereon the accursed Abu Jahl swore an oath, and to convince O'mar took him into the house of the Ka'bah, where he appealed to Hobal the greatest of the Qoraish idols to be a witness in this matter, whereon O'mar girded his sword, the breadth whereof measured one, and the length seven spans, and sallied forth to murder the prophet—u. w. b. According to one tradition, a companion, Na'im Bin A'bdullah, met him on the road, and informed him, for the purpose of gaining time, that his sister and his brother-in-law Sa'aid Bin Zaid had made their profession of Islâm. According to another tradition, Sa'ad Bin Abu Woqass happened to see him, and to ask: 'O'mar! where art thou going?' He replied: 'To kill Muhammad.' Sa'ad continued: 'Thou art unable to do it. Fearest thou not the Bani A'bd Munâf?' O'mar retorted: 'I shall first make an end of thyself for having changed thy religion.' Sa'ad retorted: 'Thou art unable to kill either me or Muhammad. Such acts are above thy capacity.' At these words O'mar bared his sword, and Sa'ad his, because at that time Musulmans never went about unarmed, for fear of the unbelievers. When the dispute was about to terminate with bloodshed, Sa'ad exclaimed: 'Thou must first slay

[180] Most authors state that the Oqiah was equal to seven Mithqâls—one Mithqâl = 68 4/7 grains—equivalent to 480 grains, or one ounce. Ebn Athir says that the old Oqiah was equal to 40 dirhems. In the weight of precious metals one Oqiah will be best estimated as stated above, at seven Mithqâls, or one ounce One ounce of gold = £4 sterling One ounce of silver = 5s 6d.

thy own relatives, because thy sister and thy brother-in-law have also become Musulmâns.' O'mar continued: 'What is the proof of the truth of these words?' Sa'ad replied: 'That they do not eat of thy sacrifices.'[181] Accordingly O'mar no longer pressed Sa'ad, but deflected from the road to the house of his sister, to which the latter and her husband Sa'aid Bin Zaid happened on that occasion to have invited Habbâb Bin Arath. When O'mar arrived he found the door locked, but, listening, he heard someone reading; then he knocked, and when the inmates perceived him, Habbâb retired to a corner, and they hid the leaf on which the Surah T. T. H. of the Qurân was written. O'mar asked: 'Have I heard words?' They replied: 'We were conversing with each other.' Then O'mar slaughtered a kid with his own hands and ordered it to be roasted. When it was done, he said. 'Let us sit down and eat together.' They, however, refused to partake of it. Therefore O'mar believed the words of Sa'ad Bin Abu Woqass, and in his anger took hold of the beard of his brother-in-law, he moreover threw him on the ground and sat on his chest. The sister wished to release her husband from the grasp of O'mar, who then struck her cheek; but according to another tradition he broke her head, and her face was bloody. His sister then exclaimed: 'Thou insultest us because we have become Musulmâns.' O'mar replied: 'Yes.' His sister retorted. 'We have both professed Islâm, and say, despite of thee, There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah! Do as thou listest; we are both Musulmâns, and will not renounce the Faith of Muhammad.' When Farûq[182] beheld their constancy in the religion, and perceived the blood on his sister's face, he was touched, repented of his act, sat down on the edge of a couch, and said: 'Give me the leaf you have been reading.' But his sister replied: 'It is the command of the Lord that "none shall touch the same except those

[181] Because animals slaughtered by infidels are not eaten by Moslems.

[182] 'Separator,' one who discerns truth from falsehood—epithet of O'mar.

who are clean."[183] Arise and wash thyself.' When O'mar went out for his ablution, Habbab came forth from his hiding-place, and said to that believing woman: 'Givest thou the Quran into the hands of an infidel?' She replied: 'I hope he will become a Musulmân.' O'mar had washed himself and entered the room, whereon Habbâb again concealed himself for fear of him. O'mar then received the book from the hands of his sister, and when he came to the verse 'The Lord of heaven and earth, and what is between them,'[184] O'mar said: 'He alone must be worshipped to whom these words apply, and no one else.' When he came to the words 'Thou art proud of speech, but He knows what is secret and most concealed; he is God, and there is no other besides Him,' the padlock of carelessness of his breast's treasury was opened, and he said: 'There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah!' When Habbab Bin Arath had heard the excellent *Kalimat* pronounced by O'mar he shouted the *Takbir*,[185] and, coming forth from his hiding-place, said: 'I congratulate thee, for verily the prayer of the apostle—u. w. b.—which he uttered yesterday in the words, "O Allah, make Islâm dear to Abu Jahl Bin Heshâm or to O'mar Bin Al-Khattâb," has been responded to with regard to thee.' O'mar replied: 'Take me to the lord of the apostolate—u. w. b.' When O'mar arrived at the august mansion where his lordship and the companions were assembled he knocked at the door, and one of the friends, looking through a chink, perceived him standing near it with a sword, and the company having been informed of the fact, no one was willing to open the door, but Hamzah said: 'O apostle of Allah, order the door to be opened. If O'mar has come with a good intention, it will be all right; but if not, I shall cut off his head with his own sword.' When the companions had opened the door, his lordship the refuge of prophecy hastened to meet O'mar. The tradition is that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—took hold of the

[183] Qurân, ch. lvi. 78 [184] *Ibid*, ch. xxvi. 23
[185] *Allah akbar!*—Allah is greatest!

arm of O'mar and squeezed it, saying: 'O'mar, tell us whether thou hast come in peace, that I may let go my hold of thee; or whether thou hast come in enmity, that I may punish thee.' O'mar replied with fear and trembling: 'I have become a Musulmân.' His lordship continued: 'Then say: "There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his apostle."' Whereon O'mar pronounced the beautiful *Kalimat*, and his lordship responded with the *Takbir*, the companions doing the same from gladness and joy, in such a manner that the shouting was heard in the assemblies of the Qoraish. Then O'mar said: 'O apostle of Allah, it is unseemly that the idolaters worship Lât and U'zza openly, and the professors of Islâm adore the Lord secretly. Order the religion of Allah and the true Faith to be promulged openly.' After saying these words they went out, and proceeded to circumambulate the house of the Ka'bah, Sidiq [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] walking on the right, Hamzah on the left, and A'li Murtaza—u. w. b.—with a drawn sword in front of his lordship the prophet—u. w. b. O'mar preceded A'li, and all the companions of the apostle followed in the rear. The Qoraish chiefs were sitting in an apartment and expecting O'mar, when they all of a sudden perceived him from a distance joyfully approaching with the apostle of Allah and his friends. The infidels exclaimed: 'O'mar, who is coming after thee?' But he replied: 'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah! Whoever of you moves, I shall cut off his head with my bright scimitar, and shall send him to the mansion of destruction!' The idolaters were astonished, and said: 'We have sent O'mar to kill Muhammad, and, lo, now he follows and aids him! A great event has happened, and a great calamity has taken place.' When the infidels approached O'mar he warded them off, and drove them away from the house of the Ka'bah, which his lordship the apostle then entered with his noble companions, where they all prayed, and the blessed verse 'O prophet, Allah will reward thee, and the believers who are with thee,' was revealed. Let it not remain unknown that there are other

traditions concerning the conversion of O'mar, but as we have received a hint to abstain from repetitions, we have contented ourselves with the above tradition. Some historians narrate that the Farûq was honoured by professing Islam after thirty-nine men; others assert that he was the forty-first, and others that he was the forty-sixth individual who professed the Faith. In short, by his aid the arm of the religion was strengthened, and by his accession the believers were comforted.

A Number of Tyrannical Infidels agree to quarrel with the Bani Al-Hâshem and with the Bani Al-Muttalleb. The Circumstances of these Two Tribes whilst in the Shi'b of Abu Tâleb, and the Revelation of 'A. L. M. The Greeks have been overcome.'

When the Qoraish infidels perceived that the faction of his sacred and prophetic lordship had acquired additional dignity and power by the accession of Hamzah and of O'mar, that the banners of Islam were rising, and the flags of the infidels and idolaters were falling, the flames of envy and malevolence blazed up in the ovens of the minds of those black-hearted wretches; they went to Abu Taleb and said. 'Surrender Muhammad to us that we may kill him, because he opposes thy religion and ours. If thou refusest this demand be prepared for battle and slaughter, and be aware for a certainty that we shall not cease to persecute thy nephew until he leaves off reviling and insulting our gods.' When the chieftains had delivered this angry message to Abu Tâleb they left his house, whereon the latter called his holy and prophetic lordship, and explained the matter to him in detail, adding: 'Cease to curse and to blaspheme the gods of these people, because I apprehend that some great calamity, which no one will be able to prevent, is about to befall thee.' His lordship, thinking that Abu Tâleb was not inclined to protect him as warmly as hitherto, replied: 'Whatever I do or say I perform by the command of Allah. Reproaches of friends and threats

of foes cannot bias me. If thou aidest me it will be better for thee, but the protection and favour of Heaven are sufficient to me.' After uttering these words he rose to depart. Abu Tâleb was, however, touched, and, reseating his lordship, said: 'Occupy thyself with thy business, and act according to the orders thou hast received, for as long as I am alive thy enemies will not be able to prevail over thee.' And the following two distichs contain a portion of the verses composed by Abu Tâleb on that occasion:

Distich By Allah! they shall not reach thee
Until I am buried under ground!
Preach what Allah has ordered thee,
And raise the joyful sound!

When the infidels became aware how carefully Abu Tâleb was watching over and protecting the lord of apostleship they swore enmity to the Bani Hashem, and confirmed it by a written agreement, which they suspended from the door of the Ka'bah. Muhammad Bin Esahaq says that when the idolaters perceived that the monotheists had gained a strong footing, that the foundations of the Law had been wonderfully strengthened by the public profession of Hamzah and of Fârûq [*i.e.*, Omar], and that the sounds of the clarion of prophecy had reached the Arab tribes dwelling near and far, their minds were bent on the destruction of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. When this news was brought to the notice of Abu Tâleb, he assembled the Bani Hâshem and the Bani Muttalleb, asked them to protect his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—and the believers unanimously agreed to stand by each other for mutual defence, according to the usage of Arab tribes, and for the purpose of raising their degrees in the next world. As a precaution, Abu Tâleb took refuge in the Shi'b[186] with the apostle and his companions, where he

[186] *Shi'b* properly means a hollow or mountain-pass, but here designates a quarter of the city of Mekkah, still called the 'Shi'b of Abu Tâleb.' 'Muhammad wurde von seiner Familie geschutzt und diese wurde deswegen in die Acht erklart; sie muste sich in dem *Schi'b*, dem Stadtviertel wo die meisten Mitglieder wohnten, zur Vertheidigung zusammen ziehen.'—Dr. A. Sprenger, 'Das Leben,' etc., Band I, p. 352.

was followed by all the Bani Hâshem and the Bani Muttalleb, except Abu Lahab, who refused to go there on account of his very miserable nature. When the idolaters saw what had taken place, they corroborated their alliance by an oath not to intermarry, to trade, or to associate with the progeny of Hâshem and the offspring of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb; not to inform them of anything that might redound to their advantage, but on the contrary to make the greatest efforts that nothing whatever should become profitable to them in the country; and, lastly, that neither peace nor affinity should be restored between themselves and these two *Battins*,[187] unless Muhammad be killed. With reference to this matter they wrote a treaty of alliance, to which forty chieftains of the Qoraish appended their signets [*i.e.*, seal signatures], and suspended it from the door of the Ka'bah.

It is related that after the Musalmâns had entered the Sni'b they fell into great difficulties; for when anyone left that retreat, the wicked [idolaters] tried to injure them, so that they could not come out except during the season of the pilgrimage;[188] but even during that period Abu Jahl, Nassar Bin Alhâreth, A'ass Bin Wâbut, O'tbah Bin Abu Mo'itt, and fanatic idolaters like these, watched the roads and threatened the people coming with provisions to the bazâr of Mekkah that if they sold any to Muhammad, or to his companions, they would for a certainty destroy and deprive them of all they possessed; and if those opponents saw any friend of the apostle purchasing something, they enhanced the price [by a higher bid], so as to compel the poor man to return disappointed. Traders in the bazâr of Mekkah could not venture to sell even an ounce of food to professors of Islâm; and if any of the idolaters sent them eatables from motives of compassion, they were prohibited

[187] Every tribe of Arabs consists of several *Battins* or divisions.

[188] It was a custom among the ancient Arabs to observe four months in the year as sacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war. The observance of those four months was deemed so reasonable by Muhammad that he retained it, and accordingly enforced it also in the Qurân.

from doing so by the narrow-minded and cruel enemies, and were threatened and persecuted.

Of all the iniquitous idolaters, Wolid Bin Moghairah and Abu Jahl Bin Heshâm were the most active in persecuting the professors of Islâm; but Abu Tâleb had fortified the Shi'b, and never ceased nor relaxed his watchfulness over his sacred and prophetic lordship, whose house he used to walk round with a drawn sword after nightfall, not unfrequently transferring him during the first portion of the night from the place where he slept to another, enjoining his sons and grandsons to guard him during the day. On account of this great watchfulness, some people are of opinion that Abu Tâleb could not possibly have been an infidel.

When three years had elapsed in this manner, and the distress of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—of Abu Tâleb, and of their companions and friends, had reached its utmost limits, Heshâm Bin A'mru Bin Al-Hâreth, whose father was related to the mother of Fazl Bin Hâshem Bin A'bd Munâf, went to Zoheir Bin Ommiah Makhzûmi, and said: 'How is it permissible, according to the laws of kindness and humanity, that, whilst thou eatest delicate food and drinkest cold, healthy water, and livest in splendour and affluence, thy relatives should be spending their weary days and long nights in the most abject wretchedness, so that no one dares even to trade or to have anything to do with them? By Allah! if thou hadst required Abul-Hukm—*i.e.*, Abu Jahl—to act with reference to his kindred as he has induced thee to do, he would never have complied.' Zoheir replied: 'I swear by Allah, that if I had an associate I would have annulled that covenant.'

Heshâm: 'I have found a man who will second thy intention.'

Zoheir: 'Who is he?'

Heshâm: 'Myself.'

Zoheir: 'Find a third man.'

Then Heshâm went to Mutta'm Bin A'dwi Bin Naufil Bin A'bd Munâf, and asked: 'Art thou willing that two *Battins*

of the Bani A'bd Munâf should perish by the miseries of famine and destitution, thou being a witness to the fact, and agreeing with the Qoraish in persecuting them?'

Mutta'm. 'What can one man do?'

Heshâm: 'I shall act with thee in this matter.'

Mutta'm: 'There must be one more.'

Then Heshâm informed him of the connivance of Zoheir, but he wanted a fourth companion. Accordingly Heshâm went to Abu-l-Bakhri, to whom he reported the above conversations, and being informed of the names of the associates, Abu-l-Bakhri said: 'We must have yet another to agree with us in this affair.' Therefore Heshâm had an interview with Rabia'h Bin Aswad Bin Muttalleb Bin A'bd-ul-U'zza, spoke to him on this subject, and when he agreed gave him the names of the other associates. Arrangements were made that all these friends should meet during the night; and when the sun had set, all five of them met in an appointed place, where they agreed to make next morning the greatest efforts to bring about the destruction of the iniquitous document of the covenant. Zoheir volunteered to speak first in the assembly of the Qoraish; the others promised to support his motion, and afterwards they returned to their homes.

The next morning, when the surface of the world was illuminated by the rays of the sun, like the minds of those who are filled with Divine knowledge, the above-named five individuals made their appearance in the assembly of the Qoraish. After Zoheir had performed the circumambulation [of the Ka'bah], he turned towards the people, and said: 'O ye denizens of Mekkah, is it proper that we should live in affluence, eating dainty food, spending our time in luxury, wearing costly garments, quaffing the goblets of joy, whilst our kindred, the Bani Hâshem and the Bani A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, are dragging out their existence in wretchedness and misery, and are on the verge of destruction from hunger and distress? By Allah! I shall not sit down until I tear that accursed writing to pieces!' When Zoheir had ceased speaking, Abu Jahl began to shout from a corner of the

mosque of the sanctuary: 'Thou hast lied, for thou canst not tear it!'

Rabia'h B. Aswad (turning to Abu Jahl): 'By Allah! thou art a greater liar; because when that leaf was written, we had not agreed on its contents.'

Abu-l-Bakhri: 'I swear by Allah that Rabia'h has spoken the truth, because we did not consent to what is written on that page.'

Mutta'm B. A'dwi. 'Rabia'h and Abu-l-Bakhri are veracious in their assertion, and whoever says the contrary is a liar.'

Heshâm B. A'mru confirmed what his companions had said, and most of the Qoraish likewise took their part; but Abu Jahl said: 'This business must have been planned and agreed upon during the night.'

The authors of chronicles—Allah have mercy on them—have related that contentions and disputes arose among the Qoraish on the [impending] disruption of the covenant, whereon Abu Tâleb, with his intimate friends and dear associates, left the Shi'b, and approached the house of the assembly. When the Qoraish perceived Abu Tâleb, they were under the impression that he had become tired of protecting Muhammad, and accordingly they welcomed him, saying: 'Hast thou consented that the man be killed with whose death our concord and thine is bound up?' Abu Tâleb replied: 'I have come on a business wherewith the pacification of the whole community is connected. Bring forth the page you wrote in enmity against us!' Abu Jahl with his adherents rejoiced, thinking that Abu Taleb would now surrender the prophet into their hands after the production of the covenant. They accordingly took it down, and Abu Tâleb said: 'O people, are your signets on this agreement or not?' They said: 'Yes.' He continued: 'Allah the Most High and Glorious has decided that everything written in this document about tyranny, violence and enmity to relatives be effaced, and that His name alone shall remain. If this assertion of Muhammad be false, I abandon him to you, and you may do to him

whatever you like; but if it be true, you must consider the document as annulled, and must abstain from enmity and opposition.' The Qoraish approved of these words, and said: 'Thou hast spoken justly.' When the page was opened nothing was found thereon except these words 'In thy name, O Allah!' which were on the top, and not another letter had remained. At this sight the opponents hung down their heads for shame, but Abu Jahl persisted, despite of so great a miracle, in his former enmity and opposition. Then Abu Taleb stepped with his friends and confidants upon the threshold of the Ka'bah, uttered imprecations against their enemies and opponents, and again returned to the Shi'b with his companions. The five individuals whose name have been recorded above declared that they were innocent of the guilt connected with that document. Mutta'm B. A'dwi then tore that old paper[180] to pieces, and the hand of Manssûr B. Akramah, who had written it, became paralytic.

After the covenant had been annulled and the opponents had become friends, they went to the Shi'b, brought out the besieged, and led them to their houses. This event, by which the professors of the religion were delivered from trouble and misery, took place during the tenth year of the mission. At that time the Qoraish also received the news that the Byzantine and Persian armies were at war in Syria, and that the former had been vanquished by the latter, which fact rejoiced the idolaters greatly, and they said to the Musalmans: 'In the same way as the Persians, to whom no book had been revealed, have been victorious, so shall we overcome you; because we and you share the same fate with the Persians and Byzantines in the matter of existence and non-existence.' When the professors of Islam became melancholy on account of the exultation of the image-worshippers, the blessed verse 'A. L. M. The Greeks have been overcome [by the Persians] in the nearest part of the land: but after their defeat they shall overcome

[180] Probably Egyptian papyrus is meant, as true paper had no existence at that early time.

[the others in their turn] within a few years,'[190] was revealed; and when Sidiq Akbar [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] recited it in the assembly of the Qoraish, they said: 'These are words of Muhammad!' But Sidiq replied: 'They are the words of the Lord!' The idolaters asked: 'Wilt thou make a bet that the Byzantines will prevail over the Persians?' Sidiq assented, and Abu B. Khuluf made a wager with him to the effect that if within six years from that date the Byzantines did not conquer the Persians, Abu Bakr would give ten camels to Abu B. Khuluf; but if they conquered them, Abu would have to pay ten camels to Abu Bakr. When the latter came out from the assembly of the Qoraish, he informed all the Musalmâns of his bet; he was, however, reproved by them, and told that he ought not to have agreed to a definite number of years, because in Arabic the word 'few' denotes any number between three and nine, and that therefore the victory of the Byzantines may take place after the stipulated six years had elapsed; but when the matter was brought to the notice of his holy and prophetic lordship, he ordered Sidiq to go and to augment the number of camels and of years. Accordingly the latter went to Abu and increased the number of camels to one hundred, and that of years to nine. A tradition has it that after the peace of Hudaibiah the Arabs received the news that the Byzantines had conquered the army of Khosru Parviz, but as Abu B. Khuluf had in the battle of Bedr hastened to the infernal regions, the hundred camels were taken from his securities.

THE WICKEDNESS OF THE SCOFFERS, AND THEIR PUNISHMENT.

Some chroniclers have narrated that there were five idolaters who derided his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—whenever they found him alone. Their names are as follows: A'ass B. Wabul Sahmi, Aswad B. Al-Muttalleb, Aswad B. Yaghuth, Wolid B. Mogha͏irah and Hâreth B. Qais Attulattulah. It is said that when one day Jebrâil—u. w. b.—was sitting with his lordship the prophet

[190] Qurân, ch. xxx 1, 2, with the first words of ver. 3.

—u. w. b.—these five individuals walked around them [in derision], but Jebrâil pointed to the foot of A'ass, to the eye of Aswad B. Muttalleb, to the head of Aswad B. Yaghuth, to the leg of Wolid, and to the abdomen of Hâreth, whereon his lordship exclaimed: 'What hast thou done, O Jebrâil?' The Faithful Spirit replied that he had done their business. A short time afterwards every one of those men perished in a special manner as follows: A'ass B. Wâbul was one day riding with two of his sons to a field, but when he alighted in a mountain-pass near Mekkah, and placed his foot on the ground, a thorn pierced it, so that he exclaimed: 'A snake has stung me!' His sons, however, though they looked around, could see nothing, and when his foot had become swollen to the thickness of a camel's neck, he shouted: 'The Lord of Muhammad has killed me!' till the moment when he hastened to the infernal regions. Aswad B. Muttalleb was sitting in the neighbourhood of Mekkah, in the shade of a tree, when he was suddenly struck with blindness, and Jebrâil, arriving, knocked his iniquitous head against a tree. Aswad called to his aid a slave-boy whom he had with him, but he said 'I see no one near him; what is all this distress for?' Aswad, however, continued shouting 'The God of Muhammad has killed me!' and in a short time followed A'ass B. Wâbul. Aswad B. Yaghuth, being outside the city of Mekkah, was touched by the wind Simûm, so that the colour of his body became black, and his friends did not recognise him when he returned, but locked the door against him, against which he continued to strike his head until he departed to hell. Hâreth B. Qais had been eating salt fish, and was so overpowered by thirst that water could not quench it. Then he repeated the words 'The God of Muhammad has killed me!' and drank so much water that his abdomen burst. Wolid B Moghairah was one day passing near an archer practising his trade; an arrow happened to adhere to his skirt, which, however, he failed to remove, either from pride or because women were near, in whose presence he was ashamed to lift up his skirt.

Accordingly he did not disentangle the dart from his robe, and walked on till it wounded his leg and injured the sciatic artery. His pain compelled him to shout: 'The Lord of Muhammad has killed me!' until he departed to hell; and the blessed verse 'We have punished those who ridiculed thee' is confirmatory of the just-mentioned events.

Death of Abu Tâleb and of Khodaijah.

In the tradition *Ahlu-l-beit*[191] it is related that when Abu Tâleb was on his death-bed he convened the Bani Hâshem, and said: 'O ye Bani Hâshem, you are the saints of Allah, the marrow of the Arabs, the confederates of the Almighty, and the chiefs of the nobility. Muhammad is one of you. The chief of the braves is one of you. You attempt no weighty affair without completing it, nor a noble enterprise without effecting it. Therefore you excel all men and aid them.' After this preamble he continued: 'I enjoin you to honour this family, because the glory and magnificence thereof will entail the approbation of the Almighty Nourisher, will become the cause of prosperity, and of the fulfilment of desires.' He further said: 'I recommend you to cherish your kindred, because that will prolong life and multiply our progeny. Abstain from discord, because many nations have perished on account thereof. Be prompt to give alms, and to assist the needy; for both these qualities ennoble life and facilitate death. Adhere to truth, and honestly restore whatever has been entrusted to your care, because these two qualities avert the suspicion of covetousness.' He further said: 'I order you to obey and to aid Muhammad, who is the Ameen [*i.e.*, faithful one] of the Qoraish, and the Siddiq [*i.e.*, veracious one] of the Arabs. He has come on a business, to the truthfulness whereof, and to the veracity of his tongue, the angels have borne witness. I swear by Allah that I am beholding the nobles of the world, as well as the poor of all countries, responding to his invitation, and believing his words, for the sake of which

[191] People of the house, *i.e.*, members of the family.

the sabres of friends and foes are unsheathed, blood will be shed, and Qoraish chiefs aiding or opposing him slain; [I am beholding] the richest people most in need of him and the poorest most respected by him. [I see] the Arabs surrendering to him their country and the direction of their affairs, whilst love for him is taking root in their hearts. O ye Bani Hâshem, seek his favour, and assist him in word and in deed.' He further said: 'Be ye his close allies and confederates, because Allah does not make anyone walk in a path, but He directs him; nor does He guide anyone, but He prospers him. By Allah! if my life were to be prolonged I would give him all possible satisfaction, and would ward off from him all calamities.'

In the *Rauzatu-l-ahbâb*[192] it is recorded by Muhammad B. Ka'b that when Abu Tâleb was on his death-bed, the Qoraish came to visit him, and after the usual inquiries said: 'Request thy nephew to bring some food from the paradise he is speaking about, that it may become the occasion of health to thee.' Accordingly Abu Tâleb sent a man to his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—with the message: 'Thy uncle says, "I am old, weak, decrepit and sick. Send me some of the food and drink of paradise, that I may recover my health."' His lordship sent, however, no reply whatever by the envoy of Abu Tâleb; but Siddiq Akbar [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr], who happened to be present in the assembly, replied: 'Allah the Most High and Glorious sends neither food nor drink from paradise to infidels,' which words the messenger duly reported on his return. The infidels, however, induced Abu Tâleb to despatch the same individual a second time with the same request, and on this occasion the lord of prophecy returned the following answer: 'Verily Allah has excluded infidels therefrom,' but followed the messenger to the house, which he found full of unbelievers, and said to them: 'Go out, and leave me with my uncle.' They replied: 'We are as much related to him as thyself, and we shall not abandon

[192] Literally, 'garden of the beloved;' metaphorically, 'mausoleum of the saints.'

him at such a time as this.' Then his lordship sat down on the couch, and said: 'O uncle, may Allah reward thee for having taken care of me in my minority, and for having protected me in my majority!' Then he continued: 'O uncle, second me in uttering an expression by means of which I shall intercede for thee with Allah on the day of the resurrection.' Abu Tàleb asked: 'What expression is it?' The prophet replied: 'Say, "There is no God but Allah alone, who has no partner."' Abu Tâleb exclaimed: 'I am convinced that thou art my well-wisher, and were I not apprehensive that after my death people would say to thee, "Thy uncle was frightened!" I would rejoice thy heart by pronouncing these words.' Then he uttered the following:

Verses: Thou hast invited me, thou art my adviser,
Thou hast indeed been veracious and faithful;
Thou hast promulged a religion, and I know it is
The best religion in the world.
Were it not for reproach, I would profess it,
As now I plainly express it.

When the Qoraish heard these verses they began to reproach Abu Tâleb with having apostatized from the religion of his ancestors A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, Hâshem, and A'bd Munâf, but he replied: 'Abu Tâleb acts according to the religion of his forefathers.' Some authors of chronicles relate that when Abu Tâleb was on his death-bed he convoked the sons of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and said: 'As long as you follow and aid Muhammad prosperity, Divine grace, and peace will be your portion,' and his lordship asked: 'Enjoinest thou them to follow me, and thyself abstainest to do so?' Abu Tâleb replied: 'Had I been in good health I would have complied; but now I am apprehensive of the reproaches of the Qoraish, who would say: "Whilst Abu Tâleb was well he made no profession of the religion, but has become a Musalmân in the agony of death." For this reason I refuse to become a Moslem.' It is related that when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—despaired of inducing Abu Tâleb to profess Islâm, he arose from the couch, and said: 'By Allah! I shall continue to

pray for his pardon until such time as I am forbidden to do so.' Accordingly, his lordship sat in his house several days after the death of Abu Tâleb, praying for his pardon. When the companions were informed hereof they likewise united with his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b. —in praying for their relatives who had died infidels until the verse was revealed: 'It is not [licit] for the prophet, nor for those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters, though they be of kin, after it has become known unto them that they are inhabitants of hell.'[103] It is related that when the disease of Abu Tâleb had reached a stage at which the Qoraish despaired of his life they consulted with each other, and said: 'Abu Tâleb had during his life protected Muhammad as much as he possibly could, and, as he is now on the point of death, we also must not neglect his nephew, the more so as Hamzah—a more brave Arab than whom does not exist—has become a Musalmân, and as O'mar B. Al-Khattâb, whose courage and power are known to the high and to the low, has become his follower. Moreover, as many of the Qoraish and of other tribes have professed Islâm, and we are convinced that the adherents of Muhammad will increase, will help him more and more, will propagate his religion among all the Arabs, will attack and fight, and will, after taking possession of Mekkah, subjugate us also; therefore it will be proper for us to go to Abu Tâleb and request him to invite Muhammad to conclude a treaty of peace with us in such a manner that he shall hereafter abstain from meddling with our religion, and we shall have nothing to do with his.' When they had arrived at this conclusion, O'tbah, Shaibah, Abu Jahl, O'mmiah B. Khuluf, Abu Sofiân B. Harb, and a number of other well-known Qoraish leaders, presented themselves at the bedside of Abu Tâleb, and said: 'O Abu Tâleb, we have always acknowledged thy rule and government, nor have we ever swerved from thy mandates. But now we fear that after thy departure from this perishable world quarrels and contentions will arise

[103] Qurân, ch. ix. 114.

between the Qoraish and Muhammad. Call him if thou deemest proper, and enjoin him to cease injuring our religion, and we shall let alone his.' Accordingly, Abu Tâleb called his holy and prophetic lordship, and spoke to him as follows: 'Son, the nobles and the chiefs of the Qoraish have a request to make, and agree to promote thy interests, and to act according to thy behests, if thou wilt comply therewith.' The prince of the world replied: 'I have also a request to make to the tribe.' Abu Tâleb queried: 'What is it?' His lordship replied: 'I request them to utter only one expression, after pronouncing which they will reign over all the Arabs, and the whole of Persia will become subject and obedient to them.'. Abu Jahl replied: 'O Muhammad, instead of one expression we are prepared to utter a hundred. Tell it.' He said: 'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.' When the people heard these words they became angry, clapped their hands, and said: 'O Muhammad, wishest thou to reduce our gods from one thousand to one? This is a very strange thing, and although we desire to reconcile thee and to please thee, thou art unwilling to settle thy business.' After these words they arose and dispersed. When they had left the house, Abu Tâleb said: 'Thy request to the Qoraish was not unfit, and thy words were appropriate.' This declaration induced his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—to conceive hopes of Abu Tâleb's conversion, and he said: 'Uncle, pronounce those word's thyself, that I may, with their aid, intercede for thee on the day of the resurrection.' But Abu Tâleb replied: 'By Allah! were I not apprehensive of the reproaches of the Qoraish, and of the suspicions of the people that I have professed the Faith for fear of death, I would have pronounced the *Kalimat* to please thee, would have rejoiced thy heart and brightened thy eyes.' After that his condition changed, his tongue moved in his mouth, and when A'bbâs placed his ear to the mouth of Abu Tâleb, he said: 'O nephew, he pronounces the words which thou wishest him to say' Despite of Muhammad

B. Esahâq, one of the greatest historians and biographers, who has a tradition that although when his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—proposed to Abu Tâleb to utter the *Kalimat* of monotheism he first refused, but afterwards repeated it in a low voice, as A'bbâs had heard it, the Sunnis and Sheikhs of the Motazzelites[194] refuse to believe it, because, according to the opinions of many writers on tradition, the blessed verse 'It is not allowed to the prophet,' etc.,[195] had been revealed on the occasion of his praying that Abu Tâleb might be forgiven, as has been recorded above. That assertion contradicts also the tradition of many U'lâma, who say that the blessed verse 'Verily thou canst not guide whom thou pleasest, for Allah guideth whom He willeth to the straight road, and He knows best who are guided,' had been revealed with reference to Abu Tâleb. On this subject there are so many traditions that they cannot be recorded in this abridgment, but Muhammad B. Esahâq is the author who asserted that Abu Tâleb professed the Faith, and Allah knows best. After that his lordship the apostle went out, and Abu Tâleb departed to the gardens of paradise.

In some biographies we read that when Abu Tâleb died Murtaza A'li—u. w. b.—informed the prophet thereof, saying: 'Verily thy uncle, that misguided old man, has died,' and that his lordship, who was weeping, replied: 'Go, wash his body, shroud it, and make all the arrangements necessary for the funeral.' A'li replied: 'O apostle of Allah, he has died an unbeliever.' But his lordship again said: 'Go, wash his body, and say nothing until thou returnest to me.' Accordingly, A'li did as he was

[194] The Sunnis, who are so called because they acknowledge the Sunna, or collection of traditions on the sayings and acts of the prophet, are subdivided into four sects, and are generally acknowledged to be orthodox; whilst the Motazzelites, who rejected all eternal attributes of God, predestination, etc, were considered to be heretics.

[195] Quran, ch. ix. 114, the whole of which is as follows: 'It is not allowed to the prophet nor those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters, although they be of kin, after it has become known unto them that they are inhabitants of hell.'

bid. There is a tradition of A'bbâs—m. A. r. h.—that in Abu Tâleb's funeral the prophet walked in front of the bier, and said: 'O uncle, thou hast cherished thy kin, and hast done good acts. May Allah reward thee!' All the U'lâma agree that Abu Tâleb died during the tenth year of the mission, and that his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—was overpowered by vehement grief.

During the same year, three days or thirty-five days after Abu Tâleb's decease, Khodaijah Kabri also hastened to the gardens of paradise, and his lordship was so melancholy on account of the departure of these two beloved persons that he declined to leave his house, and the said year was surnamed the year of mourning. In some books it is recorded that when Khodaijah Kabri fell sick, his lordship the refuge of termination said to her: 'Thy disease produces a disagreeable odour, but with the loathsomeness thereof Allah the Most High and Glorious has vouchsafed thee great benefits. Knowest thou not that the Most High has exalted thee above Mariam, the daughter of E'mrân and sister of Mûsa, and above Asiah, the daughter of Mozâhum, the wife of Fara'ûn?' When Khodaijah died she was sixty-five years old, and was buried in Hajûn. The prophet—u. w. b.—used to visit her grave, although at that time the funeral customs and prayers had not yet become obligatory. This statement is, however, contrary to the assertion of the author of the *Mustaqaza*, according to which the prophet—u. w. b.—is said to have forbidden A'li—u. w. b.—to pray for Abu Tâleb. It is said that after the decease of the latter the idolaters stretched forth the hand of opposition against the prophet, and they—may dust cover their heads—induced a caitiff to throw dirt at the august head and countenance of his lordship. When A'bd-Bin A'bd-ul-Muttalleb heard that the prophet—u w. b.—was, on account of the insults of the infidels, hindered from pursuing his mission as he wished, he met his lordship, and exclaimed: 'O Muhammad, pursue thy avocation as during the lifetime of Abu Tâleb. I swear by Lât and by U'zza that as long as I am alive thy enemies

will not be able to injure thee.' It is related that when on a certain occasion an imbecile fellow was cursing the prophet—u. w. b.—the words were reported to Abu Lahab, and he rated him soundly for them, but the Qoraish asked: 'Hast thou accepted the religion of Muhammad?' He replied: 'I profess the Faith of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, but I protect my nephew from insults, to enable him to live at ease and to pursue his business.' Then the Qoraish said: 'Thou actest well in cherishing thy kinsman.' After that his lordship attended to his mission for some time without being insulted by the idolaters for fear of Abu Lahab, until one day Abu Jahl B. Heshâm and O'tbah B. Abu Mo'itt—may Allah curse them both—asked Abu Lahab: 'Has thy nephew told thee where the place of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb is now?' He replied: 'No.' They continued: 'Ask him.' Abu Lahab then questioned his lordship, and was told that A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was with his people, and on his reporting this reply to them, they said: 'The meaning of these words implies that he is in hell.' Then Abu Lahab put the following question to his lordship: 'Will A'bd-ul-Muttalleb go to hell?' The prophet—u. w. b.—replied: 'Yes, and all who follow his religion will go to hell.' On hearing these words Abu Lahab became angry, and said: 'By Allah! henceforth I shall always be thy enemy.' Accordingly, he united himself at that time to the Qoraish in persecuting and insulting the prophet to such a degree that his lordship was compelled to leave Mekkah.

His Holy and Prophetic Lordship—u. w. b.—goes to Tâif and returns therefrom, afraid and melancholy, to the Vicinity of the Sanctuary, where a Number of Genii profess the Religion, and he re-enters Mekkah by the Aid of one of his Well-wishers.

His lordship the prince of the righteous left Mekkah on account of the persecutions and insults of the infidels and the wicked, and went to the tribes Bani Bakr and Wâbel,

inviting the people to walk in the straight way; but they remained unblessed by the grace of acceptance, whereon he removed to another encampment, the tenants whereof first aided but afterwards repelled him, repenting of their first friendliness. Then he paid a visit to the inhabitants of Tâif and to the tribe Thaqif, where, as a certain tradition informs us, he stopped ten days, inviting the chiefs and heads of the people to accept Islâm, but none were willing to do so. There is a tradition of Muhammad B. Ka'b Qurtti that on the said occasion there were two brothers and chiefs of the tribe Thaqif A'bd Thalil at Tâif, whose names were Moss'vud and Habib, sons of O'mar B. O'mair, whom his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b. —met, invited them to accept Islâm, and worked evident miracles. One of them said: 'If thou art a prophet then I must have stolen the door of the Ka'bah,' but according to another tradition he said: 'I do not know what to answer thee.' Another asked: 'Has Allah the Most High not found a better man than thee to send as an apostle?' Another said: 'I cannot reply to thee, for if thou art a *prophet thy dignity unfits me to converse with thee; but if* thou art not one, why should I do so?' His lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—however, said to them: 'If you do not accept my invitation, may Allah keep this matter secret!' The lord of existences uttered this wish lest the Qoraish might become informed of the state of affairs and might augment their persecution.

The miserable ones of that locality struck the hand of refusal upon the breast of the invitation of the chief of both worlds, and instigated foolish persons to throw stones at that prince, so that they broke the head of Zaid, wounded the blessed legs of his lordship, and exclaimed: 'Thou sorcerer! thou madman! Hast thou come to raise quarrels among us, and to lead astray the simple?' His lordship left that tribe, entered a garden belonging to O'tbah and to Shaibah on the road to Mekkah, and sat down in the shade of a tree. His luminous mind was highly aggrieved, and the stones thrown by the hard-

hearted fools of Tâif having soiled his august legs with blood, he raised his hands in prayer with a sorrowing heart and wounded body, saying: 'O Allah, in my weakness I lay my complaint at the courts of Thy magnificence. I acknowledge my simplicity and impatience at the palace of Thy greatness, and represent to Thee my abject and miserable condition, because Thou art the most merciful of [those who are] the merciful and the protector of the helpless. Thou art my cherisher Referest Thou me to a friend who may become displeased as soon as he perceives me, or to an enemy who would like to become the master of my destiny? If this affliction has not befallen me from Thy wrath I dread it not. But Thy mercy is greater. I take the light of Thy countenance to witness, the light which has illuminated darkness, and has connected me with the affairs of this world and the next, that Thy displeasure and anger will not befall me. Thou canst punish according to Thy good pleasure. There is no power nor strength except by the will of Allah!'

It is related that on the above occasion O'tbah and Shaibah were in their garden sitting on an elevated spot, and looking at the tricks played by some insolent persons upon his lordship, but their vein of consanguinity being touched; they felt pity for him, and sent a few grapes to the prophet by a Christian boy from Nineveh, called A'dâs. When this youth presented the dish to the august vision of the best of men, his lordship said: 'In the name of Allah,' and began to eat. A'dâs, who had scrutinized the noble countenance of his lordship, thereon exclaimed: 'By God! these are words which I have never heard in this country from anyone.' His lordship asked: 'Who art thou? What is thy religion and thy country?' He replied: 'I am a Christian servant from Nineveh.' His lordship continued: 'Thou art from the village of that pious man Yûnas Bin Matti [Jonah].[196] A'dâs asked: 'How knowest thou Yûnas?' The apostle—u. w. b.—replied: 'He is my brother. He was a prophet, and I am one also.' When

[196] See Part I, vol. ii, pp. 112-120.

A'dâs heard these words he prostrated himself at the feet of his lordship, and when O'tbah with Shaibah had seen what was taking place, they said: 'He has perverted the boy.' When A'dâs returned to them, they asked him what that man had said, why he had kissed his hands and feet, manifesting all that humility? He replied: 'That individual has informed me of a matter which none but prophets know.' They rejoined: 'Woe to thee! He has deceived thee and injured thy religion.' A'dâs answered: 'Do not say so; for a better man than he is not living on the face of the earth.'

When his holy and prophetic lordship departed from Tâif he went to the valley of Nakhlah, from which Mekkah can be reached in one night. At that place he arrived in the latter part of the day, but during the night seven of the genii of Nassibin[197] came, and overheard the lord of apostleship reciting the Qurân. They waited till he had finished his prayers, and then presented themselves to his lordship, who invited and received them into the firm religion, saying: 'When you return to your country, invite your people to accept the bright religion.' God the Most High has said: '[Remember] when we caused certain of the genii to turn aside unto thee that they might hear the Qurân, and when they were present at the [reciting of the] same, they said [to one another] "Give ear"; and when it was ended, they returned back to their people preaching [what they had heard].'[198]

In some chronicles it is recorded that when, after the mission [of Muhammad], the Satans were prohibited from listening by stealth, they said to each other: 'A great event must have taken place in the world, on account of which a curtain has been interposed between us and the celestial news. Therefore we must make inquiries in the east and in the west of the inhabited world and learn the

[197] Of this place the *Shamsu-l-loghât* gives the explanation that it is a town in the vicinity of the noble city of Mekkah where genii came to wait upon the prophet and were honoured with the distinction of making their profession of Islâm.

[198] Qurân, ch. xlvi. 28.

cause.' Accordingly the above-mentioned number of their company alighted on the earth in the region of Tahâmah, went to the valley of Nakhlah, where his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—happened to be engaged in his devotions when the genii arrived. When the latter heard the Qurân, they said: 'By God! there is no other veil between us and the celestial information except this.' After they were made happy by professing the Faith, and had returned to their people, they exclaimed: 'Verily we have heard a wonderful Qurân,[199] which directeth unto the right institution, wherefore we believed therein, and we will by no means associate any other with our Lord.'[200]

It is related that the genii waited twice upon his lordship —u. w. b.—the first time in the manner just narrated, and the second time many of that tribe, who had heard his lordship's description from those seven individuals, made —three months after the above event in the valley of Nakhlah—their appearance in the Hajûn mountain-pass near Mekkah. They desired to meet the prince, and during the same night his lordship went to the said place, where he beheld many wonderful and strange things, which can be ascertained in detail from voluminous books.

It is also on record that when the lord of existences, the prince of men and demons, was returning from Tâif towards the sanctuary he learned that the Qoraish had, after being informed of the misbehaviour of the inhabitants of Tâif, instigated a number of fools to imitate those heedless men to overstep the boundaries of decency and to protrude the hand of impudence from the sleeve of respectfulness. Some allege that during the journey Zaid Bin Hâreth said to his lordship the prophet: 'We went to Tâif on account of the persecutions and insults of the idolaters, therefore it will be proper for us not to re-enter Mekkah except under the protection of someone.' Accordingly, his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—stopped near Mount Hira,

199 Here the word 'Qurân' does not mean the book of that name, but is to be taken in its original sense of discourse, recital, reading.
200 Qurân, ch. lxxii. 1, 2

and sent a man to Akhanas, [who was] of the Bani Srariq, with the request to protect him. Akhanas, however, refused, and the same question having been addressed to Sahal Bin O'mra Mutta'm, he complied, and sent the following answer: 'Condescend to visit me, for I shall protect thee.' The next morning Mutta'm armed himself, as well as his sons and retainers, and went to the temple of Mekkah. When Abu Jahl heard of this event he ran headlong from his dwelling, never stopping till he likewise arrived there, and when he perceived Mutta'm in this attitude, he asked: 'Art thou a follower or protector [of Muhammad]?' Mutta'm replied: 'I am a protector.' Abu Jahl continued: 'To whomsoever thou grantest safety we also grant it to him Accordingly, his lordship entered Mekkah, kissed during that night the black stone, circumambulated the Ka'bah, performed his devotions with two prayer-flexions, and then returned to his august domicile.

Some relate that the next day his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—went to Mutta'm, and requested him to withdraw his protection. Being asked for the reason of the demand, his lordship replied: 'I do not wish to be under the protection of an idolater more than one day,' and Mutta'm complied with the request. During the tenth year after the mission his lordship the refuge of the termination [of prophets] married A'aishah Ssiddiqah,[201] but consummated his marriage with Sowdah, that of the former taking place only three years afterwards in the honoured city of Madinah, because she is said to have been only six years of age when the betrothal was made.

Ascension of his Holy and Prophetic Lordship—u. w. b.—his attaining the Dignity of Intimacy, and his hearing Divine Words concerning the Mysteries of Both Worlds.

The U'lâma are at variance how long before the flight, in what month, and in what locality the ascension took place;

[201] Being the daughter of Abu Bakr, she also obtained this cognomen, but with the feminine termination, his having been Ssiddiq; see footnote 206.

but numerous traditions concerning the mysteries and wonders unfolded to his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—during that journey have been recorded in many books. Some authentic historians allege that the prophet went twice to the upper world, and was on both occasions honoured by conversing with the Lord of lords without the intervention of Jebrâil. Sheikh A'li Abu Sinâ composed a treatise explaining the ascension, which contains philosophical maxims and unheard-of narratives, but as this abridgment cannot embrace all that has been written on the subject by learned and pious men, only an epitome of that miraculous event will be given; but He [*i.e.*, God] vouchsafes protection and grace.

Some traditionalists, who wrote biographies of the prince of the righteous, have recorded that one night his lordship was about to fall asleep in the mansion of Omm Hâni, the sister of A'li Bin Abu Taleb—u. w. b.—when Jebrâil arrived with Mikâil, and said: 'Arise, Muhammad; the Omnipotent calls thee.'

Verses: In the morning he [Muhammad] propagated the Faith;
In the evening he ascended to heaven.
One night he left this perishable world,
When Jebrâil in the house of Omm Hâni
From the heavenly tabernacle arrived,
Bringing Borâq (who is swift as lightning) from the light,
His aspect was lovely, like that of a garden,
His whole form was handsome to behold.
Was there ever a cloud brighter than in the month of Nisân,
Was there ever a breeze gentler than in the month of Nisân?
He was adorned with jewels like the sea,
As no one sitting in a boat would suspect,
His back was strong, his action heavy, his step light,
Far-seeing in travel, and swift in motion.

It is recorded in several books of traditions that Jebrâil first opened the breast of his lordship from above till down to the pubes, and that Mikâil washed the veins, the throat, and the interior of his blessed breast with water from the well Zamzam in order to divest him from every quality unsuitable for a prophet. They brought a golden dish filled with religion and wisdom, emptied it into the heart, and put it back into its place. Then Jebrâil caught hold of his

noble hand and led him out. When they arrived between Ssafâ and Marwah he beheld a quadruped smaller than a mule and larger than a donkey. His face resembled the countenance of a man, and his breast looked as if it were of red rubies; his back was of white pearls, and he had two wings large enough to conceal his legs. Jebrâil exclaimed: 'Muhammad, mount him; for this is Borâq, whom all prophets rode.' Then Jebrâil took hold of the stirrup, and Mikâil of the bridle. His lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—wanted to mount; Borâq, however, frisked, and Jebrâil said: 'Borâq, no prophet dearer to God than Muhammad has ever bestrode thee!' These words disconcerted Borâq, and made him perspire. Accordingly he bowed down, the prophet mounted him, and they departed to the farther temple [*i.e.*, to Jerusalem]. On the road he was offered two vessels, one of which contained milk and the other wine, but the apostle of God selected the milk, and Jebrâil said: 'Hadst thou chosen the wine, the people would have fallen into error.' In the same manner [to tempt him] a man on the right side exclaimed: 'O Muhammad, stop! I want to ask thee something.' But the prophet paid no attention. The same question was heard on the left, but met with the same indifference. Farther on a woman, decked out with ornaments, was sitting near the road and also shouted. 'Stop, O Muhammad!' But the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—heeded her not. After passing all these individuals, he asked Jebrâil who they were, and the latter replied: 'The first man was a Jew, and if thou hadst answered him thy people would, after thy decease, have become Jews. The second was a Christian, and hadst thou replied to him thy people would have turned Christians. That elegant female was the world, and if thou hadst conversed with her all thy adherents would have preferred this world to the next.' After they had travelled for some time, Jebrâil said: 'Alight, O Muhammad, for this is the pleasant city [Madinah] which will become the place of thy exile.' Accordingly his lordship did as he was bidden, performed his devotions, remounted Borâq and continued

his journey. When they arrived near Ttûr Sina and Beit-ul-lahm, which was the birthplace of I'sa [Jesus] —u. w. b.—he alighted and held his prayers also in that place, at the request of Jebrâil. On reaching the further temple [*i.e.*, Jerusalem], a company of Cherubim angels, who had come to meet him, addressed him in the following words: 'Salutations to thee, O first, O last, O assembler!' The prophet asked for the signification of this greeting, and Jebrâil replied: 'Thou wilt be the first man resuscitated from the garden of paradise; thou wilt be the first man whose intercession is accepted; and thou art the last of prophets. On the appointed day the resurrection of all mankind will begin with thee.' Then Jebrâil took his lordship down from Borâq and tethered the latter to a ring of a door in the farther temple, to which the prophets of former times had fastened their quadrupeds, and that door is called 'the ascension gate.' When he entered the temple he beheld a number of prophets, and at a hint from Jebrâil he went forward and held his orisons with two prayer-flexions, the prophets imitating his example After that Jebrâil took him to the desert and showed him a ladder, the like of which in beauty no mortal eye had ever beheld. Its top was in heaven, and its foot [on earth] was surrounded by angels. The lord of the apostolate—u. w. b.—approached the said ladder and ascended by means of it [to heaven]. According to another tradition, however, Jebrâil took that prince upon his wings, conveyed him to the first heaven, and knocked at the door. Voices asked: 'Who is that?' Jebrâil replied: 'I.' They continued: 'Who is with thee?' He said: 'Muhammad.' They queried: 'Has he been called?' He rejoined: 'Yes.' Then the door was opened, and when his lordship mounted to the heaven of the world, he beheld a man of full stature. Jebrâil said: 'This is thy father Adam; salute him.' When his lordship had done so, Adam—peace be on him—returned the greeting, saying: 'Welcome, pious son and pious prophet.' On Adam's right side there was a door, from which a pleasant, and on his left, one from which an unpleasant, odour issued.

Whenever Adam cast a glance on the former he laughed, and when he looked at the latter he wept. His holy and apostolic lordship—u. w. b.—asked Jebrâil about the door, and was told that the one on the right was the entrance to paradise, opened to the souls of saved mortals, and the cause of his pleasure; whereas the door on the left led to hell, reserved for the souls of the condemned, and was a cause of grief to him.

From the heaven of the world his lordship went with Jebrâil up to the second heaven. There, as in all of the following heavens, the latter had some conversation as before at the gates with the angels, and obtained admission. In the second heaven his lordship saw two youths, and on his asking Jebrâil who they were, he was informed of one of them being I'sa [Jesus] the son of Maryam [Mary], and the other Yahya [John the Baptist], the son of Zakria, whom he was told to salute He complied, and they answered: 'Welcome, pious brother, pious prophet.' In the third heaven they met Yusuf [Joseph], in the fourth Edris [Enoch], and in the fifth Harûn [Aaron], repeating and receiving the same greetings as before. In the sixth heaven his lordship beheld Mûsa [Moses], and departed after saluting him; but Mûsa commenced to weep, and on the angels asking him for the reason thereof, he replied: 'Because after me a youth has received a mission, more of whose followers will enter paradise than of mine.' He wept, however, not from envy, but on account of the paucity of his followers. In the seventh heaven he beheld Ebrahim [Abraham], and Jebrâil exclaimed: 'This is thy ancestor.' His lordship saluted him, and after replying, Ebrahim said: 'Welcome, O pious son! O pious prophet!' There is a tradition that his holy and prophetic lordship said: 'I saw a man whose hair was half gray sitting on a chair near one of the gates of paradise. Around him were some persons with countenances as white as paper, and others who had a touch of darkness in their complexions; but they washed themselves in a river and came out from it as white as the former. When I asked Jebrâil for an explanation,

he said: "This is thy ancestor Ebrahim, and the people who had a touch of darkness in their complexions are such as have with their good works mixed bad ones, but have repented, and God the Most High has accepted their repentance."' There is a legend that the prince of existences said: 'I beheld Ebrahim leaning against the heavenly tabernacle, which is an edifice in the seventh heaven opposite to the house of the [celestial] Ka'bah, and is daily visited and circumambulated by seventy thousand angels. When they go out they do not return again, because [their numbers are so great that] their turn never comes again. After that I was taken to the lote-tree, which marks the boundary.[202] I beheld a tree the fruits whereof were as large as rocks, and its leaves as big as the ears of elephants The residence of Jebrâil is in the centre of that tree. At its foot I perceived four brooks, two of which were open, and two concealed. On asking Jebrâil about these streamlets, he declared that the secret ones flowed into paradise, and that the two open ones were the Nile and the Euphrates.' After passing the lote-tree Jebrail stepped back, allowing his lordship to precede him, until they arrived near a curtain, from the rear of which an angel protruded his hand, and took up that prince. But Jebrail remained behind in this place, and on the prophet's asking him for the reason, he replied: 'Every one of us has his appointed station, beyond which he cannot pass, and if I go farther I shall be burnt.'

Verses He so quickly went on the journey of approach
That Jebrâil lagged behind at the lote-tree;
So the prince of the holy house said
'O bearer of revelation,[203] ascend higher!'
He replied 'I cannot proceed farther,
I dread to use my wings farther,
For if I fly one atom higher
The lustre of the glory will burn my wings.'

Accordingly his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—advanced alone and passed beyond the curtains. When Borâq

[202] Quran, liii. 14. This vision of Muhammad's can be compared with that of St. John, as described in his revelation.

[203] Jebrâil is thus called because he was the medium through which Muhammad obtained his revelations

became fatigued, a green *Refref*,[204] exceeding sunlight in brilliancy, made its appearance, upon which his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—took his seat, and travelled until he arrived at the foot of the great throne. Then the allocution 'Approach nearer!' was heard, and a drop of some fluid from the throne touched his blessed forehead, whereby he became imbued with the wisdom of ancient and of modern times, and the oftener the words 'Approach nearer' were repeated at short intervals, the more his dignity and proximity increased. He first touched the lowest step, and then ascended till he arrived very close, and heard the words 'Salute thy Creator,' and having been inspired with the following words, he said: 'Blessed salutations and the most excellent benedictions to God, the Lord of glory.' To which he received the answer: 'Greeting to thee, O prophet, with the mercy of God and His blessings! Salutation to us, and to the pious servants of God!' When the angels heard these words, they exclaimed: 'We testify that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah!' After that, great mysteries and numerous conversations took place; fifty prayer-flexions in orisons during one day and night became obligatory upon Muhammad and his people; he was distinguished by receiving various Divine favours, and was then allowed to depart. When he arrived at the station of Jebrâil, that faithful spirit congratulated his lordship, took him to the gardens of paradise, and having shown him everything in detail, he made him see hell, where his lordship beheld with his own eyes the torments and punishments of the damned. On returning he again encountered Mûsa, who asked: 'What has been made obligatory upon thy people?' The prince of apostles replied: 'Fifty prayer-flexions in orisons each day and night.' Mûsa rejoined: 'I have known mankind before thee, and have tried the children of Esrail. Thy people are much weaker than the ancient nations, and

[204] *Refref* is the name of the throne upon which Muhammad was carried to the presence of God during the night of his ascension, but in general parlance the word has also the meaning of dome, tent, throne, etc.

unable to execute fifty prayer-flexions. Return to the place of monotheism, and ask for a diminution.' He complied, and when he returned he brought the information that the fifty prayer-flexions had been reduced to five. Mûsa, however, instigated the lord and refuge of apostleship—u. w. b. to go again and to ask for a reduction. His lordship replied: 'I have returned to God till I was ashamed. Now I assent and comply.'

After that the apostle of Allah again returned to the house of Omm Hâni. According to the statement of Muhammad Bin Esahâq, four hours of the night had elapsed from the prophet's departure till his return. The writer of these lines says that what has been recorded in these pages is only [like] one word from a book, one pearl from an ocean, and a compendium from a detailed account, in comparison to what chroniclers and authors have related about the events of the ascension; but as one of those most excellent individuals has separately recorded the phenomena of it, and his tradition appeared to discerning persons to be exquisite—Allah, however, knows best whether it is correct—it has here been inserted as follows: The prince of all creatures—upon whom be the most excellent of blessings—spoke thus: 'One night I was sleeping in the house. It was a night of thunder and lightning, when no quadruped roared, nor any birds uttered sounds, nor was anyone awake. I was in a state between sleep and wakefulness when Jebrail arrived in his own form, with such glory and brightness as to illuminate the whole house. He was whiter than snow, and his countenance beauteous to look at; his hair was curled, and his forehead inscribed with the words: "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah." His eyes were handsome and his brows slender. He had seventy thousand rays of red and white rubies [as a nimbus of glory?], and three hundred feathers of brilliant pearls. He approached me, took me in his arms, kissed my eyes, and said: "O sleeper, how long wilt thou sleep?" Hereon I became frightened, and leapt up, but he said: "Be quiet. I am thy brother Jebrâil" I

asked: "O brother, has an enemy prevailed?" He rejoined: "I shall not surrender thee." I continued: "What am I to do?" He said: "Arise, collect thy senses, and follow me." Accordingly I walked after him until I perceived Borâq standing. He was taller than a donkey and smaller than a horse; his face was like the face of a man; his fore and his hind legs were high, and when I desired to mount him he would not allow it. Jebrâil, however, aided me until he subdued him. When we had started and passed the heights of Mekkah, a person came after me, and exclaimed: "Halt till I reach thee." Jebrâil, however, interposed: "Do not speak, but go on." When we had left him in our rear, Jebrâil said: "If thou hadst allowed him to reach thee, the love of the world would have found entrance into thy heart." We progressed until we arrived in Jerusalem, when a person met us who had three goblets, which he offered to me. One of them contained milk, the other water, and the third wine. By the advice of Jebrâil, I selected the milk and drank it. When we reached the farther temple [of Jerusalem], and entered it, a Muedhdhin was calling the people to prayers. I preceded, whilst a company of angels and of prophets followed my example. When I had terminated my prayers I saw prophets standing at my right and at my left, all of whom saluted me. I beheld a ladder, the steps whereof were alternately of silver and of gold. By means of it I ascended into the heaven of the world, where I beheld Esma'il [Ishmael] sitting on a chair of light, with a company of men standing around him. I saluted him, and advanced to the second heaven, where I beheld two angels of perfect beauty and stately presence, one half of whom was of [the nature of?] snow and the other of fire; still, they neither commingled nor quarrelled with each other. They saluted me, saying: "Glad tidings to thee! For all blessings are with thee." When I arrived in the third heaven I saw an angel the like of whom in beauty and elegance I had never beheld. He was complacently and blandly sitting on a chair of light, with numbers of other

angels around him. Arriving in the fourth heaven, I perceived a celestial spirit sitting with great dignity on a throne of light. I saluted him. He replied with pride, and on account of his haughtiness he neither smiled nor spoke with anyone. He said to me: "O Muhammad, I see all blessings and felicities united in thee. I congratulate thee!" After reaching the fifth heaven I was made aware of hell. I beheld [from a distance] a black, dark, and fearful region, and I saw *Mâlek*[205] sitting at the side thereof engaged in punishing and tormenting the wicked. He had wings and hair. When I arrived in the sixth heaven I perceived an angel sitting on a chair of light praising and magnifying the Lord. His wings and hair were inlaid with rubies and emeralds. I saluted him, and he greeted me, congratulating me on the prosperity and happiness that awaited me; and he also said: "I constantly utter blessings upon thee." When I reached the seventh heaven I beheld an angel sitting on a chair of red rubies. Not everyone could approach him, but whoever did so was well received. I saluted him, and he replied, pronouncing benedictions. When I arrived near the final lote-tree I saw a world full of brilliancy and splendour. It was so bright that it dazzled my eyes. Wherever I looked round I perceived heavenly angels engaged in worshipping the inscrutable Creator. I asked: "O Jebrâil, who are these people?" He replied: "They have never any other occupation besides worshipping God. They have their places, which they never leave. There is not one of us but has his appointed place." As I passed them by I saw four rivers, the water of each being of a different colour, and many angels, who were singing hallelujahs and praises, all engaged in their appropriate modes of adoration. As I passed them by I saw a boundless ocean, the end whereof I was [of course] utterly unable to see. Near it I perceived a large river and an angel pouring water from the ocean into it, whence it was flowing to all places. Near

[205] This is the name of the principal angel who is in charge of hell, and mentioned also in the Qurân (xliii. 77).

that ocean I saw also a great valley, larger than any I had ever beheld, and although I looked much, I could see neither the beginning nor end thereof. At the side of the valley I perceived an exalted, glorious, and refulgent angel, who called me to himself. When I arrived near him I asked: "What is thy name?" He replied: "Mikâil; I am the greatest of angels. Ask me about anything which is difficult to thee, and about anything thou longest for, that I may reply to all thy queries." I replied: "I suffered much trouble and fatigue till I reached this place. My intention in coming here was to behold and to know God the Most High. Guide me to Him that I may attain my wish, derive the greatest profit therefrom, and then return to my house. Then that angel took me by the hand and led me beyond several thousands of curtains, taking me to a world where I saw naught resembling the things I had seen in these worlds [or heavens I had visited]. When we reached the Lord of glory I heard the words: "Approach me and come nearer." Then I lost the faculty of motion and of sensual perceptions. I felt all happiness and ecstasy, forgetting everything from awe of the Lord. Everything I knew and felt was so intensified by the delight of the happiness in approaching Him that I might have been considered as beside myself. I smiled at the proximity, and trembled, but the words "Come nearer" were heard. I trembled, whereon I again heard the words: "Fear not. Compose thyself." When I advanced nearer the salutation of the Lord reached me in sounds the like of which I had never heard before. Then the allocution came: "Say praises." I replied: "I am unable. Thou art such as Thou hast Thyself said." The words were then heard: "Say whatever thou desirest and whatever thou seekest." I said: "I crave permission to put questions that my doubts may be removed."' Then his lordship the apostle proposed his doubts and obtained the solution thereof. Then also the principles of the religious law, such as fasting, prayers, etc., were settled for the religious and civil government of the world. The prophet

says: 'When I returned from this journey to my house the bed-clothes were still warm,' and the apostle of God spoke the truth. This narrative of the ascension has been copied by the author of these pages from the tradition of the above-named celebrated individual without any addition or omission; but He [*i.e.*, God] knows best what is correct.

Ebn Kathir has related in his chronicle that when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—returned to Mekkah after his ascension he knew that the Qoraish would accuse him of falsehood; and he was sitting in the mosque of the sanctuary in a melancholy and depressed frame of mind, when the accursed Abu Jahl approached, and derisively asked him whether he had learnt his lesson yesterday. His lordship replied: 'Yes.' The accursed Abu Jahl asked: 'Wilt thou inform the people of this tale?' His lordship replied: 'Yes.' Then Abu Jahl began to shout: 'O ye Qoraish people, come in!' Accordingly all the men assembled, and the prophet made his statement, whereon some believed and some did not. It is on record that Abu Jahl went with a company of idolaters to Abu Bakr, and said: 'Thy friend Muhammad alleges that last night he had been taken to Jerusalem, although he had remained with us since the evening.' Ssiddiq replied: 'If he has said so, it must of course be true.' They queried: 'Believest thou that he went during a portion of the night from this place to Jerusalem, and that he again returned before morning?' Ssiddiq replied: 'I do believe it, because he states that Jebrâil comes down in one moment from the seventh heaven and brings the message of the Most High, whereon he again returns.' Then Abu Jahl, with his companions, departed abashed. It is said that from that day Abu Bakr was surnamed Ssiddiq.[206] It is said that many idolaters who had seen the farther temple [of Jerusalem] came to his lordship the refuge of the apostolate, and questioned him for the purpose of trying him about the peculiarities thereof. His lordship said:

[206] Meaning 'very truthful.'

'I described the temple until I was nearly confused. Jebrâil [however] brought the farther temple and placed it near the house of Naufil, where he kept it in my sight. I was looking at it and replying to all the queries of the idolaters.' After his lordship the apostle had described the farther temple as it really was, the idolaters said: 'He has correctly described the temple.' In some translations it is narrated that his holy and prophetic lordship said: 'I was sitting in a room, when the Qoraish examined me about the ascension. They then questioned me about matters concerning Jerusalem, which I had not borne in mind. Therefore I became more grieved than I had ever been before. Then the Lord of glory kept Jerusalem before my sight, so that I was enabled to answer their inquiries.' It is said that the reason of the unbelief of those who had not professed Islâm must be attributed to the fact that they were conscious of caravans spending two months in going to Syria and returning to Mekkah. Let us fly to Allah for refuge from error after guidance.

The chief biographers relate that when the seal [*i.e.*, last] of the prophets—u. w. b.—had, by a Divine inspiration, given a description of the farther temple, his opponents challenged him to give information about their travellers and clansmen who were in Syria, which would be more important. His lordship replied: 'I passed by a caravan from such and such a tribe, who were going in search of a camel which they had lost. In their camp there was a jug of water, and as I was thirsty I drank it. When they arrive you may ask them whether there was any water in the vessel or not.' He also said: 'I passed by the caravan of a tribe called so and so. Two men, called so and so, happened to be riding on a young camel, which got scared and ran off from Borâq, in consequence whereof one of those two men fell to the ground and broke his arm. Ask them whether this happened or not.' They further asked: 'Where hast thou seen our own camels and the caravan of our relatives?' He replied: 'In Shaa'im.' They continued: 'What are their goods

and provisions?' He replied: 'Such and such; this and that man is among them. An ash-coloured camel, covered with striped cloth, precedes their caravan, which will arrive to-morrow at sunrise.' When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had thus given explanations about every caravan, they said: 'This is another sign.' The next morning the Qoraish were sitting on a hillock before daybreak, and waiting for the sun, but hoped that the caravan would not arrive, so that they might stretch forth their wicked tongues in reproof against the prophet, and accuse him of falsehood. Suddenly [however] one of them exclaimed: 'Behold the sun has risen!' and another shouted: 'See, the caravan has arrived!' It is related that as the caravans successively approached the Qoraish verified the words of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and found them all to agree with the facts. But despite all these signs and miracles, those dark-hearted wretches, unwilling to admit the light of the Faith into their hearts, said: 'We have never heard such words, and this is nothing but evident sorcery.'

Distich Look at those wretches who saw,
But would not believe, the Divine signs.

The above was a narrative of the journey of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—to the sacred world, and of his return to direct the inhabitants of the earth. The writer of these pages says that the detailed accounts of the ascension and the moral reflections connected therewith have been recorded in works written by biographers on that subject, and had they all been copied here the account would have become very prolix. Although most of the U'lâma say that the ascension took place during the twelfth year of the mission, all biographers agree that it happened in the eleventh year when the Anssâr[207] began to profess Islâm. The musked pen has recorded the events

[207] The Anssâr, *i.e.*, helpers or auxiliaries, were those inhabitants of Madinah who had received and protected Muhammad with his followers against their enemies. The leaders of the Anssâr were those who had taken the oath of fidelity to the prophet at A'qâbah.

of the ascension in order not to tear the string of the narrative nor to disturb the pearls of words, and will now relate how the inhabitants of Yathreb[208] professed Islâm.

The Prince of Existences—u. w. b.—addresses the Pilgrims to the Sanctuary. The Inhabitants of Yathreb come to Mekkah, and those Honoured Individuals profess the Faith.

In the book *Dallaylu-n-nabawwat* [indications of the prophetship] it is narrated by Zohry that the prophet—u. w. b.—was in the habit of presenting himself to the people during the season of the pilgrimage and sacred visitation, when he conversed with the chiefs of the tribes, requesting them to receive him and to protect him from insults, to enable him to proclaim his message. He said: 'I do not wish to force you to anything. Only permit anyone who approves of my invitation [to the Faith] to receive it, and protect me from being killed, that I may recite to you the book of Allah the Most High and promulge His message.' No one would, however, agree to this proposal, and all said: 'His own people are better acquainted with him [than we are].' But when the time arrived that the surface of the law of the Omnipotent—whose name be glorified—should be unfolded, and that His servants should be delivered from the darkness of unbelief and error, namely, during the season of the pilgrimage to the house of the Ka'bah in the eleventh year after the mission, six men of the inhabitants of Madinah presented themselves in the locality of A'qâbah to his grace-bestowing lordship the best of men, and that prince asked them: 'Who are you?' They replied: 'We are inhabitants of Madinah, of the tribe of Khazraj.' His lordship bade them to be seated, and invited them to listen to his words. They complied, and the prophet—u. w. b.—asked them to follow the right religion, reciting to them the Qurân. The Khazraj having often heard the Jews of Madinah say that this is

[208] This is the ancient name of Madinah.

the time when the prophet of the latter days would appear, said to each other: 'By Allah! this is the prophet about whose mission they have informed us; now we must believe him, lest any of the [other] inhabitants of Madinah should forestall us.' And having been ennobled by the felicity of [professing] the religion, they said: 'O apostle of God, we are returning, and shall inform our people of what we have heard. We have left them in such a state that among two of our tribes there is enmity which exists not in any nation. God will entrust their affairs to thee, and if they assemble thou wilt pacify them, for no man is more excellent than thou.' The names of those six fortunate individuals are the following: Asaa'd Bin Zarârah, A'wûf Bin Hâreth Bin Ghufrân, Râfi' Bin Mâlek Bin A'jlân, Qottaybah Bin A'amer Bin Jadylah, A'qâbah Bin A'amer Bin Mâly, and Jâber Bin A'bdullah Bin Rabâb. When these six men returned they promulged the mission of his lordship the refuge of the apostolate in Mekkah, and all the chief historians, as well as biographers, have in their books recorded the manner in which the Anssâr had begun to profess Islâm, in the same way as has just been done. But A'li Bin Hâshem has a tradition that at the time when a war was being waged between the Awus and the Khazraj, which was called Ba'at, and the Awus had vanquished the Khazraj, Asaa'd Bin Zarârah and Dhikrân Bin A'bd Qays came on the part of the Khazraj during the time of the sacred visitation in the month Rajab to Mekkah to ask assistance from the Qoraish. Asaa'd, who was a friend of O'tbah Bin Rabia'h, alighted at the house of the latter, and explained the reason of his arrival, but O'tbah replied: 'There is a long way between our country and yours. Moreover, an event has occurred among us which hinders us from undertaking a war against your enemies.' Asaa'd asked about that event, and O'tbah continued: 'There is a man among us who pretends to be an apostle from God, considers our wise men to be fools, insults our gods, and corrupts the principles of our youths.' Asaa'd queried further: 'Who is the man that has this pretension?'

O'tbah replied: 'Muhammad Bin A'bdullah Bin A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and he belongs to the noblest tribe of our people.' Having pondered on the dignity and authority of his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—Asaa'd wanted to know where he could be found, and O'tbah rejoined: 'He is sitting in a room [near the Ka'bah], but thou must neither speak to him nor listen to what he says, because he is a magician, and will deceive thee by his sorcery.' Asaa'd replied: 'I am a pilgrim, and must circumambulate [the Ka'bah].' O'tbah continued: 'Put a little cotton in thy ears, and then circumambulate.' With this advice Asaa'd complied, and began the ceremony, but during the second turn he said to himself: 'There will be no greater fool in existence than myself if such an event has taken place in Mekkah, and I return to my people without informing them of it.' Accordingly he pulled out the cotton from his ears, approached the prophet—u. w. b.—without saluting him, but using the greeting of the time of ignorance.[209] His lordship then said: 'Allah the Most High has communicated to me a salutation which is better than this, because it is that of the denizens of paradise.' Thereon he pronounced with his wonderfully eloquent tongue the words: 'Peace be upon you!' Asaa'd asked: 'What is thy invitation?' He replied: 'I invite you to testify that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah; and I order you to attribute no partner to the Most High in anything, to do good to your parents, and not to kill your [female] infants wantonly.' After that he recited some verses from the Surah entitled *Cattle*.[210] Asaa'd then pronounced the formula of monotheism, and said: 'O apostle of Allah, may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! we are of the inhabitants of Yathreb and of the Khazraj tribe. Between us and our brothers there are ties [of affinity] which have been snapped. If Allah the Most High were, by the blessing of thy intervention, again to unite them, no one would be more respected than thyself,

[209] Muhammadans call the pre-Islamitic 'the time of ignorance'
[210] Ch. vi. of the Qurân bears the above superscription.

and if our people were to profess the religion, it would acquire publicity. I swear by Allah that the Jews have often described thee, and have informed us of thy advent. I hope our locality will become the mansion of thy exile; for [both] the Christians and the Jews have predicted it. Praise be to Allah the Most High for having led us to thee. I swear by God that I came to ask aid, but that the Most High has given me something which is a thousand times more precious.' At that time the 'legal alms'[211] were established, and Asaa'd exclaimed: 'Behold the prophet of God, about whose advent the Jews had constantly given us information, has established legal alms, and has brought [the religion of] Islâm.' In short, when the Khazraj returned to Madinah, they invited the people to profess Islâm, and so described the properties and attributes of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—to the people that his fame began to spread, the light of the Faith commenced to shine and to throw rays upon the minds of the people of that country.

The First Homage at A'qâbah; Mossa'b goes to Madinah where the High and the Low profess Islam.

In the twelfth year of the mission twelve individuals arrived from Madinah for the purpose of circumambulating the Ka'bah. They met his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—at A'qâbah,[212] where they paid him homage, and promised not to attribute partners to God, not to steal, neither to speak nor to act falsely, not to kill their [female] infants for fear of poverty, and not to transgress the commands of the apostle—u. w. b. His lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—said to them: 'If you keep this covenant, paradise will be your lot. But if you commit any sins excepting idolatry and infidelity your pardon or chastisement will depend on the will of God.' The names of those twelve men are the following: Saa'd B. A'bâdah, Asaa'd B. Zarârah, A'wuf and Moa'adh the [two] sons of

[211] The word is *Dhakât*

[212] Name of a hill near Mekkah.

Ghufrân, Râfi' B. Mâlek, Mundhar B. Ssâmat, Yazid B. Tha'lebah, O'tbah B. A'amer, Qottaybah B. A'amer B. Jadylah, Abu-l-hâshem B. Althyân, and A'wym B. Saa'dah. It is related of A'bâdah B. Ssâmat that he said: 'We promised obedience to the apostle of Allah in prosperity and trouble, in wealth and in poverty.'

It is related that his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—sent Mossa'b B. O'mayrah with the above-named twelve individuals to Madinah to spend his happy days in teaching them the Qurân and the principles of the religious Law. Mossa'b was a youth who had been brought up daintily by his parents, but when he became a Musalmân thoy persecuted him. During the confinement in the Shi'b [a hollow in Mekkah; see footnote 186], he was with his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and shared all his hardships. He also knew by heart whatever had been revealed of the Qurân up to that time Now, however, he proceeded by the advice of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—with the Anssâr to Madinah, alighted in the house of Asaa'd B. Zarârah, and visited the houses of the people, inviting them to profess the right religion and to walk in the straight path, whereon some attained the nobility of Islâm and became Musalmâns. One day Asaa'd B. Zarârah and Mossa'b B. O'mayrah went to the quarters of the Bani Azfar and of the Bani A'bdu-l-ashhal, who assembled around them and the greater portion of them became converted. When Saa'd B. Ma'adh, who was the son of Asaa'd B. Zarârah's aunt, and the highest chief of the tribe, heard this news he spoke to Syd Usyd B. Khazir as follows: 'Abu Emâmah, namely Asaa'd B. Zarârah, has brought a stranger, and restrains the weak-minded among us from walking in the accustomed road; and, by Allah! if it were not for the ties of consanguinity I would finish him! Go now and prohibit him from carrying on that business.' Usyd B. Khazir went with the short spear he had in his hand towards the people, and when the eyes of Asaa'd alighted upon him he said: 'This is one of the best and noblest men of the tribe; if he professes the Faith, a great

multitude will follow him. When Usyd B. Khazir had arrived close to them he stopped and, [ironically] smiling in his great anger, asked: 'Why do you come to our dwellings and befool the intellects of the weak-minded among us?' Aasa'd replied: 'O Abu Yahia, thou art a man adorned with a perfect understanding, and decorated with the accomplishments of knowledge. Sit down a little, and condescend to hearken awhile to enable thee to receive and to assent to our proposal, or we will endeavour to remove any objections thou mayest offer.' Usyd replied: 'Thou hast spoken justly,' stuck his short spear into the ground, and sat down. Mossa'b, however, began, after a suitable prelude, to recite portions of the Qurân, and to invite Usyd to profess the Faith. Asaa'd and Mossa'b reported: 'We swear by God that before Usyd ever spoke one word the light of Islam became visible on his person; and when Mossa'b had ended his recital, Usyd asked: 'What do you when you enter Islam?' They replied: 'Wash thyself, put on clean garments, and having pronounced the *Kalimat* [i.e., confession of the Faith] of monotheism, hold orisons with two prayer-flexions, for we have done so.' Usyd complied, and, after making his profession of the Faith, continued: 'If there be any men of my tribe desirous to follow my example, no one can impede them.' After that he rose and went to Saa'd B. Ma'adh. When the latter beheld him, he exclaimed: 'I swear by God that Usyd B. Khazir has not returned in the same manner as he had departed.' Then he asked: 'What hast thou done?' He replied: 'I have threatened and prohibited them; but I have heard that they wish thee ill, that they want to murder the son of thy aunt, namely Assa'd B. Zarârah, and so break the treaty between themselves and thee' Usyd's object in making this assertion was to induce Saa'd B. Ma'adh to go to them and to protect the son of his aunt.' Saa'd then rose angrily, and said: 'Thou hast done nothing;' and, taking hold of his hand, he proceeded towards them. When Asaa'd B. Zarârah beheld Saa'd B. Ma'adh, he said to Mossa'b: 'By Allah! before he ever

professed Islâm I perceived the signs thereof on his countenance. This man is the prince of his tribe, and if he follows us no one will resist.' When Saa'd came near them he spoke words similar to those uttered before by Usyd, and received the same answer from Asaa'd. When Saa'd took a seat, Mossa'b proposed Islâm to him, and said: 'In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Clement! This is a revelation from the Merciful and Compassionate.' (Mossa'b said, By Allah! before Saa'd ever mentioned his intention of embracing Islâm, I perceived the signs of it on his face.) Then Saa'd despatched a person to his house—by the advice of Mossa'b—to bring clean garments, and after he had pronounced the *Kalimat* [formula] of monotheism, and held devotions with two prayer-flexions, he returned to his tribe and shouted: 'Let all men and women come forth from their houses, because this day is not a day of retirement.' When the people had assembled, he said: 'O people, what is my position among you? And how am I known among you?' They replied: 'We consider thee to be the highest and best of us, and obey thee. Order whatever thou pleasest, for thy commands are a law unto us.' Saa'd continued: 'It is illicit to your men and to your women to speak to me, until you believe in Allah and in the veracity of Muhammad as His elected one.' The chronicler says: 'I swear by Allah that on the said day neither a man nor a woman was left in the tribe Bani A'bdu-l-ashhal but became a Musalmân.' After that Mossa'b invited the inhabitants of Madinah with the greatest publicity to profess Islâm, and they did so in crowds. Most of the nobles of the tribes Awus and Khazraj having been invested with the robe of the Faith, Mossa'b reported in detail all the conversions that had taken place, and was also himself admitted to the honour of kissing the feet of his holy and prophetic lordship.

The Second Homage of A'qâbah and Flight of the Covenanters to Madinah.

In the thirteenth year of the mission great crowds of Musalmâns and idolaters arrived from Madinah during the time of the pilgrimage for the purpose of circumambulating the house of Allah, and when they had reached Mekkah, a portion of them paid on a certain night homage to the apostle of God—u. w. b. It is related of Ka'b B. Mâlek that he said: 'When we arrived at the sanctuary and met his lordship the prince of the sons of Adam—u. w. b.—we promised him that we would on the second night of the Tasharyq days[213] come to the pass of A'qâbah and make a covenant with him. Having kept our profession of Islâm secret from the idolaters, we started from the place separately and clandestinely. After one third of the said night had elapsed, we assembled in the place we had agreed upon, whereon his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—also condescended to make his appearance with his uncle A'bbâs.' According to another tradition, Mâlek said: 'His lordship arrived before us with his uncle A'bbâs on the spot.' In short, Ka'b B. Mâlek says: 'We were seventy men in all, but two women had also accompanied us. A'bbâs had not become a Musalmân; but being an intelligent man, the prophet—u. w. b.—brought him to confirm the agreement between his lordship and the Anssâr. When everybody had taken his place, A'bbâs spoke as follows: "People of the Khazraj, you know how closely we are related to Muhammad, as well as how beloved and respected he is in his tribe. Hitherto we have guarded and protected him against any attempts of his enemies, and still intend to do so. He, however, desires to abandon us, and to ally himself to you. If you act faithfully by inviting him to Madinah, and guard him against the evil machinations of his foes and opponents, then make him go with

[213] The *Tasharyq* days are three days after the slaying of the sacrifices, and this takes place on the 11th and 12th of the month Dhulhejjah.

you. But if you are not confident of being able to protect him, it will be better to give up your proposal, for he is honoured and exalted among his people and in his city, and guarded with nobility and dignity."' Ka'b continues: 'I replied: We have heard and received thy advice. Then I said: "O apostle of Allah, speak and make any conditions thou likest for the sake of God, whose name be glorified."' In some traditions it is recorded that when his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—was during the appointed night conversing with the people in the pass of A'qâbah, A'bbas happened to pass by and to recognise the blessed voice of his lordship the refuge of termination. Accordingly he entered the assembly, and said: 'O ye tribe of Khazraj and of Awus, Muhammad is my nephew, and I love him most of all creatures. If you believe him, place faith in him; and if you desire to take him with you, I want to establish a covenant between you, so as to pacify my mind and to preserve him from injury and harm during his exile, especially as the Jews, who are your neighbours, harbour enmity towards him, and I fear their cunning devices against him.' These words offended Asaa'd B. Zarârah, and he said: 'O apostle of Allah, give me permission to reply in such a manner as to remove the dust of apprehension, that none of it may settle upon thy luminous mind, and that we may not be reproached with anything whereby we would incur the displeasure of thy noble self' After obtaining leave to speak, Asaa'd first turned towards his lordship, and said: 'O apostle of Allah, a proposal may be such that it is either easy or difficult to comply therewith. Thou hast proposed something to us, the acceptance whereof seems at present difficult to the people; thou hast, namely, invited us to renounce our own religion and to profess the faith of Islâm. This is a great matter, but we have complied with thy wish. Between us and the other Arabs ties of consanguinity and friendship have subsisted. Thou hast ordered us to sever them, and on account of our great attachment for thee we have done so, and that was a very difficult step. Moreover, we are a people aware of our

dignity, and no one could rule or govern us except one of our own number. How much less could a man do so who has been abandoned by his own tribe, and from whom his own relatives have withdrawn their hand of protection? We have, nevertheless, in good faith, of our own free will, concluded to submit to thee. It is also known that pretensions like thine displease the people, but no one advances them except a man whom God—whose name be magnified—guides and directs, and who expects his reward in the next world. On this point we all agree with our hearts and tongues. We assent to follow thee, we promise to, and make a covenant with God, who is thy and our Creator, and whose power is above all powers, that we shall sacrifice our lives for thine, and shall protect thy body in the same manner as we guard the bodies of our children and wives. We know that if we keep this covenant we keep our faith towards Allah the Most High, and will become partakers of eternal felicity; and that if we break this promise, we break our faith towards Allah the Most High, and will be of the number of the damned. O apostle of Allah, these words of ours are true, so help us, God!' After that Asaa'd B. Zarârah turned to A'bbâs, and said: 'O thou who hast made haste to speak before the apostle of Allah, the Most High knows best what thy intention was. Thou hast said, "He is my nephew, and I love him more than anyone else;" but we have come from far and near, friends and strangers; we adhere to his lordship, and testify that Allah the Most High has truly sent him to mankind, that he is not a liar, and that he has brought words not at all resembling the words of men. Thou hast said, "My mind cannot be pacified unless I receive from you a promise, and a covenant be established between you." This is a condition to which no one will demur, and we are ready to make any agreement thou likest. Take any hostage thou pleasest for the sake of thy Creator.' When Asaa'd had spoken thus far, his holy and prophetic lordship said: 'The conditions of our covenant with reference to the Creator are that you worship Him alone, and attribute to Him no companion; and with

reference to myself, they are that you protect me in the same manner as your own lives, those of your children and women.' The Anssâr replied: 'O apostle of Allah, we assent to what thou hast said.'

It is recorded in some trustworthy books that when A'bbâs had done speaking, his lordship recited several verses of the Qurân to the Anssâr, whereon they replied: 'O apostle of Allah, what promise shall we make to thee?' He said: 'Promise that you will follow and obey me in prosperity and adversity, that you will in times of distress spend your wealth [to alleviate them], that you will do good and abstain from evil works, that you will in promulging the word of Allah never be intimidated by the threats of revilers, that you will aid, protect, and take care of me as of your own selves, your children and wives.'

According to a certain tradition, the first man who took hold of the blessed hand of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—and made the just-mentioned promise, was Abu Emâmah Asaa'd B. Zarârah. Others, however, allege that the first individual of the Anssâr who did so was Abu-l-hâshem B. Althyân, but Allah the Most High knows best the true state of the matter. It is related that on the said occasion Abu-l-hâshem said: 'O apostle of Allah, between us and the Jews there are treaties and alliances, but if we break them, and Allah the Most High grants thee victory, thou wilt possibly rejoin thy tribe, and abandon us to our foes.' His lordship smiled, and said: 'Blood is blood, and destruction is destruction. You are mine, and I am yours. I shall fight those who fight you, and make peace with those with whom you make peace.' The word 'destruction' [*hdm*] has, however, been interpreted with vocalized *d* and quiescent *m*, and consequently rather means 'tomb, or high dignity,' but there are two opinions. Accordingly, the meaning is, 'My tomb will be in the place where your tombs are,' or 'Your dignity is my dignity.' But if *d* is quiescent [*hidm*], then this word will be [the singular number of] *adhâm*, namely, 'Abandoning an Arab tribe despite of a covenant and alliance.' Some say that

the above phrase was, 'My blood is thy blood, and my destruction is thy destruction'; namely, 'If my blood is to be avenged, so is thine, and if thine is shed in vain, so is mine.' When the covenant was established, his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—selected by the advice of Jebrail nine leaders from the Khazraj, and three among the Awus. The names of the former are: Barây B. Maghrûr, Râfi' B. Khazir B. Mâlek B. A'jlân, Saa'd B. A'bâdah, Saa'd B. Khushymah, Saa'd B. Rabyi' B. A'bâdah, Saâmat B. A'bdullah, A'mru B. Ruahah, A'bdullah B. Huzm, Mundhar B. O'mayr B. Janas. The names of the Bani Awus leaders are as follows: Abu-l-hâshem B. Althyân, Asyd B. Khazir Rafia', and Asaa'd B. Zarârah. His holy and prophetic lordship addressed them as follows: 'Ye are my advocates and sureties with the people, as the apostles were of I'sa—u. w. b.' They replied: 'Yes, we are.'

It is said that during the night of the covenant at A'qâbah, A'bbâs said to Saa'd B. A'bâdah and to Ebn Fadhal the Anssâri: 'O ye Bani Khazraj, you ought to know what you promise to this man with whom you are making a covenant.' They said: 'Speak.' He continued: 'You promise to fight everybody, even to the detriment of your lives and properties. When, however, both these are endangered, and your chiefs are killed, you will abandon him. Therefore you had better abandon him now, lest you reap disgrace in this world and in the next. But if you care neither for the loss of your possessions, nor for the lives of your families and chiefs, then rather lay hold of and receive him, considering him as the best man of this and of the future world.' The people replied: 'We shall adhere to him, even if our chiefs be killed and our properties are lost.' Then they asked the prophet: 'O apostle of Allah, if we keep this covenant what will be our reward?' He replied: 'Paradise.' Then they requested him to open his blessed hand, that they might make the promise. His lordship complied, and they gave the promise [by shaking hands]. It is related that while this covenant was being made, Satan ascended to the hill of

A'qâbah and shouted: 'O ye denizens of Mekkah, be it known unto you that the people of Madinah have abandoned their religion, and have made a covenant with Muhammad, and have agreed to wage war against you.' But his lordship replied: 'O herald of A'qâbah! Listen, O enemy of Allah! We shall do for thee!' A'bbâs B. A'bâdah said: 'O apostle of Allah, I swear by that God who has truly sent thee to mankind. If thou commandest we shall draw our sabres against those who are at Mena.'[214] His lordship replied: 'We are not yet commanded to wage a religious war. Return ye, therefore, to your homes.' Abbâs says: 'We went to our sleeping places, but next morning the Qoraish arrived, and said: "O ye Khazraj people, you have come to our companion Muhammad. You desire to take him to Madinah to wage war against us with him, and, by Allah! no men will fight as obstinately as those who were among us, who were not conscious of the matter, denying and swearing that they had no knowledge of such an intention." After that the Qoraish went to A'bdullah Abu Salûk, to whom they narrated the circumstance of the covenant, whereon he said: "This is a dangerous business, which the people cannot undertake without consulting me." When the Qoraish had heard these words of A'bdullah they returned.'

Ka'b B. Mâlek says: 'When the Mekkans rose, one of their youths had good sandals, and I said to Abu Ja'ber: "Although thou art the chief of the people, thou hast not the authority to possess such sandals!" The youth, hearing these words, took off his sandals, threw them at me, adjuring me by Allah to put them on. Abu Ja'ber said: "By Allah! thou hast put this youth to shame. Return the sandals to him." I said: "By Allah! I shall not return them, because this is for a good omen." After that the people dispersed from Mena, whereon the Qoraish made inquiries about the covenant of the Anssâr, and learned for certainty that the promulgation made by Satan from

[214] The valley of Mena, near Mekkah, visited by the pilgrims, is meant.

Mount A'qábah, as recorded above, was true. Accordingly they went in pursuit of the Anssár, and overtook Saa'd B. A'bâdah and Mundhar B. Amru. The latter made great efforts and escaped from the hands of the idolaters, but they caught Saa'd, tied his hands and neck, thus conveying him to Mekkah. Some of their wise men said, however: "We ought to let him go, because at Madinah he has commercial relations with some of our friends." Accordingly Saa'd was allowed to depart, and went to Madinah. When the nature of the alliances and covenants of the inhabitants of Madinah became known to the Qoraish, they began anew to persecute and to insult the professors of Islám, so that the noble companions of his lordship the most excellent of human beings could no longer remain in Mekkah. Therefore his holy and prophetic lordship gave those who had remained behind leave to flee to Madinah. They departed gradually, and, according to one tradition, the first man who placed his foot into the desert of exile was Mossa'b B. O'mayrah, but according to another it was Abu Solmah B. A'bdu-l-asyd, who had returned from the exile of Abyssinia, and could no longer dwell in Mekkah. But Allah knows best.'

CONSULTATION OF THE WICKED TO KILL THE PRINCE OF THE RIGHTEOUS, AND THE FLIGHT OF THAT CHIEF FROM HIS COUNTRY—IN THE KEEPING AND PROTECTION OF THE BENEFICENT SOVEREIGN—AND THE GOING OF HIS LORDSHIP TO THE CAVE THOR.

It is related that the prophet—u. w. b.—said to the professors of Islám: 'In my sleep I was told that the place of my exile would be a date-grove between two stony deserts.' In another tradition we read that he had spoken as follows: 'In a dream I perceived that I had removed from Mekkah to a region full of date-trees. I thought it was Tahamah, but it was Madinah itself.' It is recorded that no one had remained of the intimate friends of his lordship the termination of prophecy—u. w. b.—except Abu Bakr and A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.

—because all the companions had departed to Yathreb, *i.e.*, Madinah. Even Abu Bakr intended to go there, and asked permission from his lordship the apostle —u. w. b.—to do so; the latter advised him, however, to remain, saying: 'I hope I shall also be ordered to flee.' Accordingly, Abu Bakr commenced to make preparations for the journey by purchasing a camel for his lordship at the price of four hundred dirhems, and another for himself, feeding the animals till they were in good condition. Thus he waited for the commands of his lordship the asylum of termination.

At that time the Qoraish chiefs had unanimously determined to kill the prince of the righteous, which happened as follows: When the idolaters had seen that the noble companions departed to Madinah, they thought that his lordship the apostle would also join them. They became suspicious and afraid; whereon they congregated in the house of assembly, where it was customary to transact all affairs. Satan made his appearance in the shape of an aged man amidst the Qoraish, and when they questioned him, he said: 'I am an inhabitant of Najd, and as I heard that you are holding a consultation with reference to Muhammad, I have come here, and possibly I shall have [to give] an opinion in this matter.' The Qoraish said: 'This individual is not a Mekkan, but his presence can do no harm.' They then began to consult, and said to each other: 'You know how affairs stand with Muhammad, and that if he gains many adherents they will wage war and fight against us. This matter is therefore to be considered attentively.' Then Hâshem B. O'mru said. 'He is to be kept prisoner in a house. Food and drink are to be given him through a hole till he perishes.' The little man from Najd said: 'This is bad advice, because his followers are numerous and scattered about When they hear the news they will come, and his people, namely, the Bani Hâshem, will unite in liberating Muhammad, and this will give rise to war between you and them.' Abu-l-bakhry said: 'He ought to be expelled from Mekkah, and allowed to go where

he pleases.' The little Sheikh from Najd said: 'This opinion likewise expresses an inadequate and insufficient plan, because Muhammad is noted for the pleasantness of his speech and agreeable conversation. Possibly the people may be deceived by his words, will follow him, will unite to attack you, and revenge themselves.' The Qoraish approved of his words, and complimented him on his sagacity. After that Abu Jahl B. Heshâm said: 'The proper thing to do is to select an alert and brave youth from every tribe, each taking a sabre, and all of them falling upon Muhammad to slay him at once. In this manner his blood will be divided among all the tribes, and the Banu A'bd Munâf will not be able to fight them, and will therefore be obliged to be satisfied with the expiatory penalty,[215] and we shall be relieved of this trouble.' The little man said: 'The advice given by Abu-l-hukm[216] is the best.' Accordingly they agreed to act up to it, and dispersed from the meeting.

With reference to this event the Lord of lords says: 'And [call to mind] when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might either detain thee [in bonds] or put thee to death, or expel thee [the city]; and they plotted [against thee], but Allah laid a plot [against them]; and Allah is the best layer of plots.'[217] After the opponents had thus agreed, Jebrâil the faithful descended and explained the intentions of the idolaters to his lordship. He also brought the command from Allah the Most High to Muhammad not to sleep during that night in his usual place, and to depart the next morning to Madinah. When the night set in, they [*i.e.*, the idolaters] made their appearance at the door of the habitation of the elected one—u. w. b.—as they had preconcerted, and waited for him to fall asleep, so that they might kill him. It is related that Abu Lahab said: 'Let us watch him this night, and kill him at daybreak, so as to

215 The blood-ransom for one man amounted at that time to ten camels.

216 'Father,' *i.e.*, 'possessor of wisdom,' was his sobriquet among his friends, but Abu Jahl, *i.e.*, 'possessor of folly or ignorance,' among his enemies.

217 Qurân, ch. viii. 30.

let the Bani Hâshem know that we have accomplished this business altogether.' The apostle, however, being aware of what would take place, said to A'li B. Abu Tâleb: 'The idolaters want to kill me. Go, put on my cloak, lay down in my sleeping-place, and be of good cheer, for nothing untoward will befall thee.' A'li Murtadza did as he was bid, drew the cloak[218] in which the prophet used to sleep over his back, and comfortably reposed thereon. What other man has jeopardized his own life for his sacred existence? And with reference to that event, the blessed verse 'Whoever risks his own life to please Allah, Allah is merciful to His servants' was revealed. It is said that during the night, when A'li B. Abu Tâleb—u. w. b.—was so high-minded as to expose his own life, Allah the Most High sent a revelation to Jebrâil and to Mikâil in the following words: 'I have tied between you two the knot of fraternity, but have made the life of one of you longer than that of the other. Who of you two loves the life of his friend more than his own?' Those two cherubim-angels replied: 'Each of us loves his own life best, and prefers it to that of anyone else.' Then again the revelation came: 'Why are you not like A'li B. Abu Tâleb? For I have tied the knot of friendship between him and Muhammad, but he exposed his own life for that of Muhammad. Depart ye from this heaven[219] down to the earth, and preserve him from the wickedness of his foes.' They obeyed; Mikâil took his station at the foot and Jebrâil at the head of his lordship Murtadza—u. w. b.—and Jebrâil said: 'Who is like thee, O A'li, son of Abu Tâleb? For God has exalted thee above angels.' He has well said who recited:

Distich: The head I had, I threw it at thy feet, alas!
For my head cannot be compared with thy feet.

With reference to this occasion his lordship the Murtadza had uttered several distichs, which begin with the following:

By exposing my life I acquired more merit than by walking through fire,
Or by circumambulating the ancient house and the stone.

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[218] Generally striped, alternately brown and white.
[219] The word is *Tdrem*, and strictly means the fourth heaven.

It is related in biographies that when Murtadza A'li reclined on the couch of his lordship the elected one—u. w. b.—that prince departed from the house, recited the Surah Y. S. [*ya-sin*] from the beginning till the words 'and we have covered them with darkness, wherefore they shall not see,'[220] took a handful of dust, throwing it at the heads of the futile conspirators, and everyone whose head it touched fell in the fight of Bedr, hastening to the infernal regions. His lordship passed them by in safety, so that he was not even seen by anyone. After a little while a man accosted the idolaters, and asked why they had assembled in this place. They said that they were waiting for Muhammad to come out. That man swore, however, that Muhammad had left the house and passed them by, had thrown dust at their heads, and had gone away on his own business. Hereon they touched with their unhallowed hands their heads, and found them full of dust. Looking through a crevice into the house, they perceived a man sleeping on the couch of the lord of apostleship, and exclaimed: 'Behold Muhammad, who has thrown his cloak over his body and is sleeping in his place!' When they entered the house to execute their intention, Murtadza A'li—u. w. b.—jumped up from sleep, and as they knew not whether that man had spoken the truth, they asked where Muhammad was. He replied: 'I have not been appointed to watch him, so I cannot tell where he has gone to.' The idolaters were displeased, disconcerted, and humbled. They kept A'li for awhile in confinement, but afterwards released him by the advice of Abu Lahab.

There is a tradition of A'aishah Ssiddiqah that she said: 'One day I was sitting in my father's house in the bath, when a man arrived with the news that the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—was coming with his head covered, and at that time the prophet was not accustomed to visit our house. My father said to him: "May my parents be a sacrifice to thee for bringing honour to our house in this place!" His lordship replied: "I come on business," and continued:

[220] Qurân, ch. xxxvi. The first eight verses of it

"I have obtained permission to depart." My father exclaimed: "O apostle of Allah, we must be together." His lordship said: "Yes," complied with the invitation to enter, and said: "Let everyone go out who is in this house." Abu Bakr replied: "Nobody is in the house except my wife A'aishah with her sister." Then his lordship said: "I have permission to depart." Abu Bakr continued: "Accept one of the two camels which I possess." And his lordship rejoined: "I shall pay for it."' Some say that Abu Bakr had purchased a camel for nine hundred dirhems, and others allege that he bought one for four hundred dirhems for his lordship. A'aishah said: 'We very hastily made our preparations for the journey, and produced a table[221] full of victuals.' After that his holy and prophetic lordship went with Abu Bakr to the cave Thor, and it is related that during the said journey his lordship the apostle took off his sandals and walked barefoot, so as to leave no traces on the ground; and when his feet were wounded Abu Bakr took his lordship on his back and carried him to the entrance of the cave. By the advice of the prophet, Abu Bakr penetrated further into the cave, and stopped up the holes with clothes. One of these not having been filled, he happened to place his foot on it, which was then bitten by a snake, but cured by the prayers and by the saliva of his lordship's blessed mouth.

Distich: God created counter-poison in the mouth of the prophet
What had Sziddiq to fear of life-endangering venom?

It is related that when the mind of Abu Bakr was relieved from the danger of the holes of reptiles, he requested the apostle to enter the cave, where they slept during that night. In the morning the prophet asked Abu Bakr about the state of his wound, and prayed for him. There is a tradition that his lordship called a tree, which came and stood at the entrance, so as to make a separation between them and [the access of] the idolaters. According

[221] Not a table in our sense of the word is meant, but a big piece of leather spread out with the food thereon. In a journey this table is transformed into a bundle of victuals.

to another tradition, the merciful and clement Lord caused in his perfect benevolence a *Moghilân* tree to grow at the entrance of the cave, wild pigeons to come during that very night to the entrance of the cave to build nests and to deposit eggs, and a spider to produce cobwebs across the entrance which were as strong as the rampart[222] of Zulqarneen. It is narrated that his lordship the asylum of termination—u. w. b.—and Abu Bakr spent three nights in the said cave, and had made such arrangements that A'bdullah B. Aby, who was an intelligent and brave youth, paid them a visit every night, bringing them news about the Qoraish, and returning to Mekkah before daybreak, whilst they imagined him to be always at home. A'amer B. Fahyrah, who was a Musulmân and a freed slave of Abu Bakr, pastured his sheep during the day, carried milk to the cave Thor in the evening, and returned during the obscurity of the night. Arrangements had been made with A'bdullah B Arbattah the Dylami, and he had been hired to take care of the camels, and to bring them on the morning of the third day to the cave Thor to show them the way.

A'aishah says: 'When his lordship the apostle—u. w. b. —and my father Abu Bakr left Mekkah, the Qoraish being aware of his attachment to his lordship, a number of them came to our house, and on my going out to them, the idolaters asked me: "Where is thy father?" I replied that I did not know. Hereon the accursed Abu Jahl struck me such a blow on my ear that my earring dropped off. Abu Bakr had five thousand dirhems of ready money in the house, all of which he had taken away. Abu Kuhâfah, who was my paternal grandfather, and had become blind, said: "Abu Bakr has abandoned you to distress, and has left you nothing." I replied: "He has deposited something handsome with me," and having put some gravel into the place where Abu Bakr used to keep his money, I covered it with a cloth, took him by the hand, led him to the spot, and

[222] This famous rampart is mentioned in the Qurân, ch. xviii. 93, and has also been described in detail in the first part of the present work; see Part I., vol. i., p. 123

said: " This is the property which he has left for me." Abu Kuhâfah said: " Do not you be dismayed, for this quantity will suffice you." '

It is related that the next day after the departure of his lordship the apostle to the cave Thor, Abu Jahl caused a proclamation to be made in and around Mekkah that he would give one hundred camels to anyone who would bring Muhammad and Abu Bakr, and an equal number to any person who would be a guide to the place where those two individuals were. Accordingly a number of young men of the Qoraish, decoyed by their greed for wealth, started in search of them to the mountains, armed with swords and sticks. They took Qâyf, who was known by the name of Abu Karz, to show them the way, and when he brought them to the entrance of the cave Thor, he said: ' Those whom you seek have not gone beyond this place, unless they went up to heaven or have died under the ground.' According to another tradition, Qâyf said: ' Those whom you seek have not passed this place, and are in this cave.' But when the idolaters beheld the nest of pigeons and the cobweb, they said to Qâyf: ' Thou hast become demented.' It is said that when the Qoraish perceived those signs, they said to each other: 'The cobwebs were spun at the entrance of the cave before Muhammad was born. It is recorded in the *Aa'llâmu-l-wara* that when the Qoraish arrived they saw an angel in human shape at the entrance of the cave, who said to them: 'Nobody is here. Seek Muhammad in the passes of the wâdys hereabouts.' Accordingly the people dispersed in all directions. It is said that the idolaters came so near to the prophet in their search that only a distance of forty cubits remained between them, and that Qâyf said: ' By Allah! those whom you seek have not passed beyond this spot.' When Abu Bakr heard these words he was grieved, but his lordship said: ' Do not be sorry, for God is our protector.' Abu Bakr continued: ' If the idolaters look a little farther they will discover us.' His lordship, however, asked: ' What thinkest thou of two men, the third [confidant] of whom is

Allah the Most High?' When God warded off those amazed persons by means of the nest of pigeons' eggs and the cobweb, his lordship the refuge of termination pronounced a blessing upon all pigeons, made the sanctuary their refuge, and prohibited his people from hunting them.

Distich Beware of hunting in the sacred territory,
And repent of what thou hast done before.

He also said 'Spiders are an army of Allah the Most High,' and prohibited the killing of them. When the pigeons flew away at the approach of the idolaters, they beheld the eggs and the cobweb, whereon they said to each other. 'Had anyone come near this cave the eggs would have been broken, nor would the cobweb have remained.' In short, after the image-worshippers had completed their fruitless search in the mountains and deserts, they returned ashamed and disappointed to their homes.

HIS LORDSHIP THE REFUGE OF TERMINATION PROCEEDS FROM THE CAVE THOR TO MADINAH; AND NARRATIVE OF THE EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE DURING THAT JOURNEY; SURÂQAH APPROACHES HIS LORDSHIP THE APOSTLE—U. W. B.—AND THE FOUR LEGS OF HIS HORSE SINK INTO THE GROUND BY THE COMMAND OF THE LORD OF BOTH WORLDS; AND RECORD OF SOME OTHER EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THAT TIME.

During the third night of the sojourn of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b—in the cave Thor, A'bdullah B. Arbattah the Dylami brought the camels according to his promise to the entrance of the cave, and A'amer B. Fahyrah also made his appearance in that place. His lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—and Abu Bakr rode on one camel, and A'bdullah with A'amer on the other. They quietly started towards Madinah by way of the shore, nor did they halt until the heat of the day compelled them to do so. On that occasion Abu Bakr prepared a couch in the shade of a rock, where he put to sleep his lordship the apostle; but after obtain-

ing a pot of milk from a shepherd in the neighbourhood, he aroused him and made him drink it. After that Abu Bakr proposed that they should start again. Accordingly all four of them continued their journey.

One of the wonderful events that happened during the flight, and which is recorded in all biographies, is that of Surâqah B. Mâlek, which took place as follows. Surâqah says: 'Messengers from the Qoraish arrived in our tribe and informed us that their chiefs of Mekkah would give one hundred camels as a reward to any man who would bring either Muhammad or his companion Abu Bakr, and that they would double the said amount for both. I was sitting among the people, when a man entered and stated that he had just seen a party travelling along the shore, and that he suspected it to consist of Muhammad with his companions.' Suraqah continues: 'Though I knew this to be the truth, I said, in order to mislead them, that those men were not Muhammad and his friends, but certain persons who had passed before me. After that I remained for awhile among the people; then I arose, went to my house, ordered a horse to be saddled, and stationed in the rear of a hill. Then I plucked my spear out from the ground, mounted my horse, and hastened towards the apostle—u. w. b.—and his friends, but when I arrived near them my horse stumbled forward, and I fell over its head to the ground. Accordingly I pulled out my divining arrows[23] from the quiver when I rose from the earth, and cast them for an omen, to see whether any injury would befall me from them [*i.e.*, from the party of the four travellers] or not. I obtained a result which I disliked, but paid no attention to it, remounted my horse, and went in pursuit of them.'

[23] The pagan Arabs used to cast lots with arrows to a considerable extent, but gaming was prohibited in the Qurân. When this game was played by several persons, the stake was a camel, which was slaughtered and divided into ten or twenty-eight parts. The winners, however, did not eat the flesh, but divided it among the poor. In the above instance the arrows were used only as a means of prognostication.

In the time of [pre-Islamitic] ignorance, divining by arrows was performed as follows: A man took three arrows, one being marked with the words 'My lord has commanded it to me,' the second with 'My lord has prohibited it to me,' and the third had no writing. Then he placed the arrows into a quiver, drew one out, and acted as he had drawn out either the command or the prohibition; but if he happened to pull out the blank arrow he repeated the operation until he obtained the order to perform the business he had in hand, or to abstain therefrom.

Suraqah continued. 'I had approached them so closely that I heard the prophet recite something, but he paid no attention to me. Abu Bakr, however, looked back, whereon suddenly the feet of my horse sank into the ground to the knees, and I jumped off:

Distich Such are the ways of this wicked world,
That now we are on the saddle, and anon the saddle on us

I had much trouble to pull the legs of my horse out of the ground, and when its legs sank into the earth dust rose into the sky. I again consulted my arrows, but obtained a result contrary to my intention.'

In the *Seu Kāzīam* there is a tradition of Abu Bakr that he said: 'At the time of our departure we were seen by none of the people who were in search of us, except Surāqah B. Malek, who was riding after us. I said: "O apostle of Allah, one who is seeking us has reached us." But he replied: "Do not grieve, for God is with us." When Surâqah had come up, and the length of only one or two spears intervened between us, I wept and said: "O apostle of Allah, a pursuer has overtaken us." He asked: "Why weepest thou?" I said. "O apostle of Allah, I swear by God that I do not weep for myself, but for thee." His lordship then exclaimed: "Great God, ward off his wicked intention from us as Thou pleasest!" whereon all of a sudden the legs of his horse sank into the ground, and Suraqah, alighting, said: "I know that this is of thy doing. Pray that I may be released. I promise to turn back every-

one who will pursue thee. Accept an arrow from my quiver as a sign, and when thou reachest my camels and sheep on thy journey, take whatever thou pleasest." His lordship, however, would not agree.' It is said that when Surâqah requested the legs of his horse to be released, his holy and prophetic lordship exclaimed: 'O my God, relieve his horse, if he be sincere!' whereon the four legs of the horse immediately rose up to the surface from the ground. It is related of Surâqah that he said: 'When I witnessed this event, I knew that the dignity of the apostle—u. w. b.—would rise, and that he would overcome his enemies. Accordingly I offered him provisions and goods. He would, however, not receive any, but said: "Keep our affairs secret." Then I begged from his lordship a writing of safety, which A'amer B. Fahyrah wrote by his order on a piece of leather, and handed to me. They continued their journey in security, but I returned, and to everyone I met pursuing him, I said: "I have examined all the roads, but have found no traces of Muhammad and his companions." In this manner I hindered the people from pursuing the apostle—u. w. b.' There is a tradition that after the battle of Honain Surâqah left his tribe and hastened to wait upon his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b—attaining the honour of kissing his feet at a place called Jaghrânah. He took his writing of safety in his hand, saying: 'O apostle of Allah, this is thy letter.' His lordship replied: 'Yes; and this is a day of good faith and well-doing.' And in this locality Surâqah was ennobled by professing Islâm.

Of the number of events which took place during that journey, one is that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—happened to pass near the tent of Omm Moa'bdah, the daughter of Khâled Khozaa'y, who was an old woman, endued with great intellect and penetration. She was accustomed to sit in her tent and to regale all who passed that way with food, according to her ability. When they reached her tent they asked for dates and bread, but she replied: 'This year no rain has fallen, and there is

distress and famine among us. By Allah! if I had any food I would give you a repast, and you would have no need to buy any.' His lordship the apostle perceived a sheep in a corner of her tent, and said: 'What is this?' Omm Moa'bdah replied: 'This is a sheep which has, on account of its extreme emaciation and weakness, remained behind the flock.' His lordship asked: 'Has it any milk?' She replied: 'It is too weak to have any.' He continued: 'Wilt thou allow me to milk her?' Moa'bdah said: 'Yes; may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee!' Accordingly his lordship placed his blessed hands upon the paps of the sheep, pronounced the ineffable name of God coupled with a prayer, whereon the udder of the ewe immediately became heavy, and she spread out her legs wide, on account of the great quantity of milk. His lordship then asked for a vessel from the owner of the tent, and milked the sheep into it, first offering to Omm Moa'bdah some milk to drink, and afterwards inviting his companions to drink also. All drank as much as they liked. At last he also slaked his thirst, and having filled all the vessels that were in the place with milk, they departed under the protection of God. A short time after the departure of his lordship, the husband of Omm Moa'bdah returned from pasturing his sheep, and was astonished to perceive all the vessels filled with milk in a corner of his hut; but Omm Moa'bdah replied that a blessed man had alighted, and narrated to her husband what had taken place. On his making further inquiries, she continued: 'I saw a man with a beautiful countenance, having a pleasant odour with agreeable manners, who was free from the defects of corpulency or leanness.' Thus she continued to describe to her husband the other qualities and perfections of his holy and prophetic lordship till Abu Moa'bdah exclaimed: 'By Allah! this is a man of the Qoraish whom they are in search of. Had I been so fortunate as to meet him I would have offered him my services to accompany him, and I still hope that I shall meet him.' Omm Moa'bdah years afterwards said: 'That feeble ewe, which the blessed

hand of his lordship had touched, lived nearly eighteen years, giving milk every morning and evening It perished during the Khalifate of O'mar B. Alkhattâb—u. w. b.—in the 'year of the destruction of cattle.'

It is related that on the second day after his lordship had, with his companions, departed from the place of Omm Moa'bdah, the inhabitants of Mekkah heard the voice of a herald in the sanctuary, reciting some distichs, the first of which was as follows:

Distich: May God the Lord of mankind reward with the best of rewards
The friends who alighted at the tent of Omm Moa'bdah.

In the *Seir Kâzrâni* the text of these verses is given as follows:

May God reward with the best of rewards
Those two blessed companions,
Who have entered the tent of Omm Moa'bdah!
They have been strengthened in the orthodox religion,
And have shown him the way—guidance
Received from the religion of God.
He who is a companion of Muhammad
Is strengthened with victory.
Prosperity lift the family of Qossay,
When the light of Muhammad departed from it.
May the Bani Ka'b be happy
On account of their good-natured son!
One asked: 'What was the miracle
He performed in the tent of Omm Moa'bdah?'
She had a feeble sheep,
From misery its very bones were weak.
He stroked it with his blessed hand,
Immediately it produced milk;
To everyone he gave some milk,
And plenty of it to the old woman.
When the voice of his miracle became loud
He liberated that sheep.
The felicity of Abu Bakr was hence increased,
That he did not leave his [Muhammad's] company.

These distichs appear to be imperfect, as the author of the *Rauzatu-l-âhbâb* adds from the *Muhtassar ramûzu-l-hâshem* that after this event she fled with her husband. Both professed Islâm, and her family were accustomed to rejoice in commemoration of the day when the blessed man had alighted among them.

Of the events that took place during this year, the meeting of Burydah B. Alkhadzib Alaslamy is one, which took place as follows: When Burydah had heard that his holy and prophetic lordship had with Abu Bakr Saiddiq left Mekkah and was on his way to Madinah, and that the Qoraish had promised a reward of one hundred camels to anyone who would either slay or capture the just-mentioned two fugitives, he coveted the prize, started with seventy men of his tribe, overtook his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—who asked him: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'I am Burydah B. Alkhadzib;' and as his lordship was accustomed to draw good omens from names, he looked at Abu Bakr and said: 'Go on; our business has turned out well, and terminated prosperously.' His lordship further asked: 'Of what tribe art thou?' He rejoined: 'Of Omm Salmah.' His lordship continued: 'We have been delivered and are safe.' And on asking: 'Of what nation art thou?' he replied: 'Of the Bani Saham.' His lordship replied: 'Thy arrows are spent.' Burydah was astonished at the quick repartee and pleasant speech of his lordship, and asked: 'Who art thou?' His lordship replied: 'I am Muhammad B. A'bdullah, the apostle of God.' Burydah continued: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is His apostle;' and all the seventy men who were with him [likewise] professed Islâm. That night Burydah spent with his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—and when it was morning, he said: 'O apostle of Allah, do not go to Madinah without a banner preceding thee.' Then he opened his turban, fixed it on a spear, and rode in front of the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.

La'lây Hamdâny has recorded in the *Mustaqadza'* that none of the traditions of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—concerning countries were fulfilled, except the tradition about Burydah, according to which he had said to him: 'Verily thou wilt after my time settle in a town of Khorâsân, which my brother Zulqarneen [the two-horned Alexander] has built, and which is named Merv. Thou wilt

become the light of the inhabitants of the East and their leader. The author of the *Mustaqadza'* has recorded in the *Rûz Mahashar* that Abu-l-a'llâ said: 'After the demise of his lordship the apostle, Burydah departed with some warriors to Merv and died there. He was buried in a Mohallab [ward of the town], at present known by the name of Mohallahi-Tannûr [the ward of the oven], in the vicinity of Hukm B. O'mru Ghuffûry, who had been the Amir and Qâdzi of that town—may Allah reward them both, and all those who were dear to the apostle of Allah.

Ttolhah B. A'bdullah happened to be returning from a commercial journey to Syria, and met his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—with Abu Bakr and their companions. He dressed his lordship the apostle and Abu Bakr in white robes, and desired to accompany that august personage; but his lordship said: 'Go [first] to Mekkah, and depart from it, so that the exile may be complete.' Some assert, however, that the person who met them was not Ttolhah, but Zobeir B. Ala'wwam. There is also a tradition that the departure of his lordship and of Abu Bakr [from Mekkah] took place on the twenty-sixth day of the month Ssafar, in the fourteenth year of the mission. Others, however, allege that it happened during one of the first three nights of the month Rabyi', the first in the said year, either on a Monday or a Thursday, according to two different opinions.

Arrival of the August Travelling Party of his Lordship the Chosen Apostle in Madinah. The Meeting with the Anssâr, and the Explanation of the Events of the First Year of the Flight by Way of Abridgment.

When the inhabitants of Madinah became aware that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had left Mekkah, they went out daily from the town expecting to be made happy by meeting him. They sat in the shade of the rocks and waited for the advent of that noble lord till the sun reached them, whereon they returned home. One day, when

they were about to go home as usual, a Jew happened to be standing on a hillock for a certain business he had. This man suddenly perceived his lordship the apostle —u. w. b.—and his companions arriving from a distance and robed in white garments. Accordingly he exclaimed, without any premeditation: 'The prosperity and felicity you are waiting for is approaching!' When the professors of Islâm became aware of the advent of the best of men, they took up their arms, ran towards his lordship, and met him on the top of the hill. It is recorded that on the said day they were beating drums and shouting: 'The new moon has appeared to us,' etc. Servants and children clapped their hands, saying: 'Allah is great; Muhammad the apostle of God has arrived.' When he was approaching the tribe A'mru B. A'wuf, a number of young maidens walked along, singing:

> 'We are maidens of the Bani-l-bukhâry,
> Of the army of Muhammad and his friends!'

His lordship replied to them: 'Allah knows that I love you.' In short, the rejoicing and gladness were so general and exuberant that they elude all powers of description. According to all the chief historians, the entrance of the lord of the righteous into Madinah took place on a Monday of the month Rabyi' the first, but they disagree about the number of days which had elapsed of that month. There is a tradition of Abu Bakr Ssiddiq that the inhabitants of Madinah discussed in whose house his lordship the apostle should take up his abode. His holy and prophetic lordship then said: 'This night I shall be with the Bani Bokhâry, because as Hâshem B. A'bd Munâf had married a wife from that tribe, they are the brothers of the mother of A'bd-ul-muttalleb' The name of that wife was Solma, and A'bd-ul-muttalleb was her son, as has previously been narrated.

In short, when his lordship had already without the town met some Anssâr, he turned to the right and proceeded towards the habitations of the tribe Bani A'mru B. A'wuf, alighting in the house of Kalthûm Ebn Alhûda,

who was an aged chief of the Arabs and a Musalmân. Some assert that he had alighted at the habitation of Sa'd B. Khushymah; but in some later authors we read different traditions, who allege that the discrepancy between the two just-mentioned traditions ceases in consequence of the fact that he alighted in the place of Kalthûm Ebn Alhuda, but that as Abu Sa'd B. Khushymah was not encumbered with a family, his house was hit upon as a place to which people might resort, and where they might assemble. It is related that during the few days which his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—spent in the house of Ebn Hudum in the Mohallah Qobba, he laid the foundations of the Qobba mosque and commenced to build it. And this is the mosque to which the Lord—whose name be glorified—alludes in the words: 'The mosque, the building whereof is founded on piety,''[224] to the end of the verse. The first mosque where his lordship the apostle said his prayers was the Qobba mosque in Madinah.

When his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—departed from Mekkah to Madinah, Ali B. Abu Tâleb lingered three days in the sanctuary, in order to restore the deposits left with the apostle—u. w. b.—by some persons, according to his commands. After that he followed the prophet—u. w. b.—who was yet in Qobba, where Ali the Commander of the Faithful waited upon him; but his feet were blistered from walking, and his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—stroked them with his blessed hand and uttered prayers for their cure, whereon that distemper was removed; nor did his lordship Ali feel pains any longer in his feet.

Some state that after sojourning four days in the mosque of the Mohallah of Qobba, his lordship the apostle departed to Madinah. Others, again, allege that he did so after fourteen, eighteen, or twenty days. He is said to have started on a Friday from Qobba to Madinah, and to have arrived at the time of prayers near the Bani Sálem B. A'wuf. The writer of these lines says that between the

[224] Qurân, ch. ix. 109.

assertion that he arrived on a Monday in Qobba, and that he sojourned there five or fourteen days, and that he left it on a Friday, there is a contradiction which every intelligent person must discover after a little consideration.

In short, when he arrived on a Friday at the time of prayers, he alighted from his camel at the house of the Bani Sâlem B. A'wuf, and after having addressed the neophytes with his wonderfully eloquent tongue, he held the Friday prayers. The following are some of the sentiments he uttered on that occasion: 'I laud and praise Allah. I ask aid from Him. I pray for His pardon, and I have the Faith from Him. I am an enemy to those who are ungrateful for benefits received. I testify that there is but one omnipotent God, whose servant Muhammad is, who has been sent [to lead the people] on the straight road, and to spread light!' He further said: 'A long period has elapsed since the time of the prophets; knowledge has been lost, and heresy has increased, and the resurrection is drawing near. Everyone who will obey the commands of God and the prophet will, indeed, find the true road, but whoever disobeys them will fall into perdition. Therefore I enjoin you to worship God, because Islâm [*i.e.*, resignation to His will] is the best thing, and I recommend it to Musalmâns. Whoever refers all his open and secret deeds to the Lord will not be injured, but will prosper. Accordingly, do good as God the Most High has done to you. Hate His enemies, and wage religious wars for His sake, because He has elected and named you Musalmâns; nor is there any strength, but such as He gives. Remember Him much, and be aware that the well-being of this and of the next world consists therein. Do such acts as will profit you after my time. Pray for the grace of Allah, and be conscious that grace comes from Him.'

It is related that when he arrived from Qobba, in the town of Madinah, the nobles and chiefs of the tribes took hold by turns of the bridle of his lordship's camel, requesting him to alight in their houses. His lordship said: 'Let

go the reins of my camel, because she is fore ordained to go where she pleases.' Thus the camel advanced till it reached the place where the mosque at present stands, and there it knelt down. In that locality was an open space, belonging to two orphans called Sahal and Sahyl, who were under the protection of Asaa'd B. Zarârah. When the she-camel halted at the place, the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—exclaimed: 'If it pleaseth Allah this is our spot!' One of the Anssâr, however, desired his lordship to alight at their habitation, and said: 'Let the camel alone, for it is commanded.' Thereon the camel rose again, walked a few steps more, again knelt down, but remained quiet this time. Abu Ayûb the Anssâri represented to his holy and prophetic lordship that he ought to alight there, being the nearest of all habitations, and after obtaining permission, Abu Ayûb carried the baggage into his own house. Then, again, some men wanted him to put up in their houses, but his lordship replied: 'The man goes with his luggage.' It is related that his lordship dwelt seven months in the house of Abu Ayûb the Anssâri, and during that time he purchased the piece of ground from the orphans, where his she-camel had first knelt down. The locality being uneven, he had it levelled, and laid the foundation of a mosque which his friends built, carrying themselves also the bricks. The apostle of God likewise assisted in the building, and said: 'O Allah, there is no welfare except the welfare of the next world. Have mercy on the Anssâr and the Mohâjer!'[225]

There is a tradition that one day A'mmâr Yâser was carrying bricks and singing a short ballad on the want of union among the builders of the mosque and others. One of the companions, who was not working, imagined that A'mmâr Yâser wanted to insult him, became angry, and said: 'Be quiet, A'mmâr, else I shall strike thee with the stick I have in my hand.' His lordship, who had heard

[225] Meaning the helpers and the refugees, the former being inhabitants of Madinah, and the latter exiles who had fled there from Mekkah.

these words, said: 'A'mmâr is dear to me like my eyesight, and no one may strike him.' It is said that every companion carried one brick, but A'mmâr two. His lordship cleaned the dust from his forehead, saying: 'Woe to A'mmâr! Resistance and revolt will kill him.' Accordingly A'mmar tasted the beverage of martyrdom in the battle of Ssafyn, which was [after the demise of the prophet] fought between A'li the Commander of the Faithful and Moâ'wiah, the son of Abu Sofiân; and this event will also be recorded in the present volume if it pleaseth Allah the Most High. In this year Asaa'd B. Zarârah—u. w. b.—died, whereon the Jews said: 'If Muhammad were an apostle of Allah, his companion would not have died.' Those senseless people railed although they knew that Mûsa, Harûn, Daûd, Suleimân, and all the prophets—blessings upon our prophet and on them—who were sent in reality, had departed from this to the next world.

In this year Zaid B. Hâreth and Abu Dâfi' went by the command of the lord of apostleship to Mekkah, and brought the noble daughter of that prince with his honoured spouse Sowdah, the daughter of Rabya'h, to Madinah. A'bdullah, the son of Abu Bakr, likewise brought his mother, Rûmân, with his sisters, A'aishah and Asma, to Madinah. According to a certain tradition, Asma gave during this year birth to A'bdullah B. Zobeir, whereat the Moslems greatly rejoiced, because the Jews had said: 'We have contrived a sorcery that children should not be born to any of the professors of Islâm.' One of the events of this year was that some Jews came to his lordship the prophet and said: 'O father of Qâsim, we ask four questions, and if thou answerest them properly we shall believe what thou sayest.' Thereon he—upon whom be blessings—said: 'On that subject I give you the promise and covenant of God [not to injure you].' The Jews asked: 'As the sperm is of the man, why do children resemble their mothers?' His lordship replied: 'I swear by Allah that you know nothing. The sperm of man is white and heavy, while that of a woman is red and subtle.

If the sperm of man overpowers that of woman the infant will resemble his father, but if not, the contrary takes place.' The Jews said: 'Yes, O God.' They then asked him to inform them of what Esmâil had considered illicit to himself before the revelation of the Tûrat [*i.e.*, Pentateuch]. His lordship replied: 'I swear by God that you know nothing. His favourite meat and drink were the flesh and milk of camels. He had fallen sick, and after his recovery he abstained from both before the Tûrat had been revealed.' Then they said: 'Yes, O God,' and again asked: 'Inform us how thy sleep is.' His lordship said: 'I swear by God that you know nothing; because the quality of the man [*i.e.*, an apostle] whom you think that I am not, is, that his eye sleeps, but his heart is awake.' They said: 'Yes, he is the favourite of Him who never sleeps.' He continued: 'My sleep is such.' They further queried: 'Inform us about the faithful spirit.' He replied: 'I swear by Allah that you know nothing. He is Jebrâil.' The Jews said: 'Yes; and he descends to thee, and is our enemy, because he brings words. If such were not the case we would follow thee.' With reference to this occasion the verse has been revealed: 'Say, Whoever is an enemy to Jebrâil, for he hath caused [*the Qurân*] to descend on thy heart by the permission of Allah.'[220] During this year A'bdullah B. Sullam, who was one of the Jewish U'lâma, made his profession of Islâm as follows: He waited upon the apostle, and when the blessed sight of his lordship alighted upon him [*i.e.*, when he had looked at him], his lordship knew that his countenance was not like that of a liar, and he exclaimed: 'O men, respond to the salutation! Feed the needy, cherish your kindred, and pray during the night when people are sleeping. Thus you will enter paradise in peace.' When A'bdullah had heard these words he returned home, and afterwards again secretly paid a visit to the lord of creatures—upon whom be the most excellent of blessings—and said: 'O Muhammad, I desire to ask thee three questions, which none but pro-

[220] Qurân, ch. ii. 91.

phets are able to answer. Tell me, first, what will be the initial sign of the resurrection? Secondly, what will be the first food which the inhabitants of paradise will eat? And, thirdly, why do some children resemble their fathers and some their mothers?' By the instruction of Jebrâil his lordship replied: 'The first sign of the resurrection will be fire mixed with smoke, driving the people from the east to the west. The first food which the inhabitants of paradise will eat will consist mostly of the liver of the fish upon the back whereof the earth is resting,[227] and that piece [to be eaten] is hanging separately from the liver.' In reply to the third question, he said: 'If the sperm of the man precedes or prevails over that of the woman, the infant resembles his father, but in the contrary case his mother, or her relatives.' When A'bdullah B. Sullam heard these answers, he exclaimed in the plenitude of truth and sincerity: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I bear witness that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.' After that he represented to the people that, as the Jews were liars, they would, after learning that he had professed Islâm, concoct calumnies about him, and said: 'Therefore, I request thee, before my profession of Islâm becomes known, to make inquiries concerning me among the Jews.' His lordship the apostle complied with the request of A'bdullah, concealed him in a certain place, assembled the Jews, and after preaching to them and warning them of the wrath of the Most High, and inviting them to believe in the veracity of his prophetship, he asked them about [the character of] A'bdullah B. Sullam. The Jews replied: 'He is the best of us, and the son of the best among us.' His lordship continued: 'What will you say if he becomes a Musalmân? Will you [also] become Musalmâns?' The Jews replied: 'God forbid that he should become a Musalmân, and may Allah the Most High protect him from that calamity!' His lordship repeated his question thrice, and received each time the same reply from them. He then said: 'A'bdullah, come forth!'

[227] This looks very much like a Hindu notion.

The son of Sullâm accordingly issued from the corner of concealment, and said: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I bear witness that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.' The Jews then said: 'He is wicked, and the offspring of the most wicked among us. He is the greatest fool, and the son of the greatest fool.' Ebn Sullâm said: 'O apostle of Allah, I have already represented to thee that the Jews are a people who will speak nonsense, and therefore I am afraid.'

In the book *A'allâmrâ-l-wara* it is recorded that during the first year after the Flight [*i.e.*, Hegira of the prophet] the Bani Qoryttah Natzyr, the Bani Qayqanaa,[228] and the Bani Ghuttfân from among the Jews, waited upon his holy and prophetic lordship, and said: 'O Muhammad, to what invitest thou the people?' He replied: 'To testify that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah. I am the man whose description you have read in the Tûrat, and I am he of whom the U'lâma have predicted that I would leave Mekkah, and that the place of my exile would be this locality. One of your scholars has foretold that I shall abstain from wine; that the prophet who was born at Mekkah, and whose exile is in this locality, will be the last and most eminent of prophets; that he will ride on a camel, will dress in coarse garments, and will be very frugal; that there will be a redness in his eyes, and the seal of prophecy between his shoulders; that he will be ready with his sword, and will fear no one; that he will be smiling, and that his commands will extend to places which neither horses nor camels may reach.' The people replied: 'We have hearkened to whatever thou hast said, and have come to make a treaty of peace with thee, to the effect that we shall be neither for nor against thee, that we shall aid no one against thee, nor injure anyone who aids thee; on condition that thou injurest neither us nor our friends until we learn what becomes of thy affairs, and of those of thy people.' His lordship the apostle complied with their request on condition that they would afford

[228] This name ought properly to be Qaynuqaa'.

aid to no one against him, nor against any of his companions, neither by word, arms, or cattle, neither openly nor secretly. They took God to witness that, in case they should fail to keep this agreement and covenant, his lordship would be at liberty to shed their blood, to confiscate their property, as well as to capture their wives and children. A treaty was written for each tribe, and the speaker of the tribe Bani Natzyr was Hay B. Khuttub, who, when he returned among his relatives and brothers, was questioned by them concerning the prophet—u. w. b.—and he replied: 'Muhammad is he whose description we find in the Torathah [Tûrat, Turah], and whose advent has been announced by our U'lâma and priests; but we shall always be at enmity with him, because prophecy has departed from the children of Esahâq to the children of Esma'il.'

During this year it was customary to recite orisons with two prayer-flexions, which were then altered to four; the morning and evening prayers remained, however, as before. In this year also the office of Muedhdhin[229] was conferred upon Bellal. In fact, the Musulmâns began to perceive the necessity of maintaining some order on Fridays, and in their religious assemblages and prayers. Accordingly they congregated in the mosque, and when the leader of the companions consulted his friends on the subject, some said: 'Let us beat a drum to assemble our people,' but this being a Jewish custom, his lordship would not allow it. Others said: 'Let us inform the people by the sound of the *Naqûs*' [a plank suspended and struck with a mallet]. This proposal was also rejected, it being usual among Christians to call the people in this manner. Then some said. 'O apostle of Allah, let us make a bonfire.' His lordship, however, replied: 'This is the rule among the Majûs.'[230] It is recorded in the *Rauzatu-l-ahbâb* that O'mar—u. w. b.

[229] This is a kind of sacristan who mounts to the highest portion of the mosque, or minaret, when the stated times for prayers are near, stops his ears with his fingers, and shouts out the call in his loudest voice.

[230] Magi, *i.e.*, Zoroastrians

—said: 'O apostle of Allah, let a herald be appointed to shout that the time of prayers is at hand.' Accordingly his lordship adopted the advice of O'mar, and appointed Bellâl to proclaim the time for orisons. It is related that in connection with this affair, A'bdullah B. Zayd the Anssâri had a dream, wherein he saw a man holding in his hand a *Nâqûs*, which A'bdullah had purchased. The man asked what he would do with it, and A'bdullah replied that he would make use of it to inform the people of the times of prayers. The man then said that he would teach him something better, and imparted to him all the forms of the call. When he awoke he had forgotten the words, but hastened to the august society of his prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—and explained everything, whereon his lordship the apostle issued orders in conformity with his instructions. Some allege that Jebrâil descended and brought the revelation that the stated times for orisons be proclaimed according to the dream of A'bdullah. The writer of these lines says that one day he discussed with one of the U'lâma the introduction of the calls to prayer, and the dream of A'bdullah B. Zayd the Anssâri, but that a theologian present, who had made it his only business to contradict the statements of pious and righteous men, tried to invalidate this tradition by saying: 'It is not likely that any ordinances of Islâm are based or established on mere dreams.' The author, however, replied: 'Heedless man, neither I nor you have dreamt this dream, nor have A'mru and Zayd[231] borne testimony to the truth thereof, but one of the great companions has dreamt it, and his lordship the prince of the righteous—u. w. b.—had asserted it to be a true vision.' He further asked whether I was certain that Jebrâil had descended with reference to this matter. But I replied: 'Possibly Jebrâil arrived after it [*i.e.*, the dream], and brought the revelation to act according to the vision of A'bdullah.' The intelligent men present in the assembly approved of my answer, but the disconcerted

[231] In European parlance 'Peter and Paul,' *i.e.*, persons of no authority.

and ashamed theologian drooped his head and was much displeased.

During this year also Wolyd B. Moghirah, who was the uncle of Abu Jahl and a scoffer, as has been recorded above, departed from Mekkah to the infernal regions. He was one of the princes and chiefs of Arabs, and had been surnamed the *A'dl* of the Qoraish; *A'dl* meaning *equal* [just], which epithet was given to him because on a certain occasion all the Qoraish together clothed the house of the Ka'bah, but on another occasion he had done it quite alone. It is related that the impure Wolyd suffered much in the agony of death, and that Abu Jahl asked him: 'Uncle, what is the reason of all this distress?' He replied: 'By Allah! this distress is not on account of death, but I fear that the religion of Abu Kayshah[232] will spread and prevail in Mekkah.' Hereon Abu Sofyân said to pacify him: 'Be not dismayed. For I guarantee that his religion will never make its appearance in this country.' Nevertheless, after the conquest of Mekkah, the inhabitants thereof were ennobled by the blessing of Islâm, as will be recorded further on, there it will be seen that Abu Sofyân's guarantee went for nothing. During this same year also A'ass B. Wâbel Sahmy, the father of A'mru, who was one of the greatest unbelievers of Mekkah—whose death has been mentioned before—joined company with Wolyd in his journey to *Saqar* [meaning hell-fire].

One of the events that took place during the first year of the Flight is also that a wolf uttered human speech; the tradition whereof is as follows: Without the town of Madînah a wolf had snatched a sheep out of a flock. The shepherd, who was a Jew, pursued the wolf, but the latter exclaimed: 'Takest thou the food from me which God the Most High has provided?' The shepherd replied: 'By Allah! I never heard a wolf speaking!' The wolf continued: 'It is more strange still that a man will in this date-grove, which is situated between two stony deserts,

[232] Here the writer erroneously placed two dots under a letter instead of one, thus making *y* instead *b* of. See footnote 256.

give you information about things past and future, and you will not believe him.' Hereon the shepherd waited upon his holy and prophetic lordship, and became a Musalmân. When he narrated this event, the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—believed it, and said: 'It will be a sign of the signs of resurrection, that a man will come forth from his house, and will not yet have returned to it, when his sandals and his whip will inform him of what has become of his family and house'

In this year his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w b.—also consummated his marriage with A'ayshah, and she relates that her mother had brought her to a house belonging to themselves, where they found his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—sitting on a couch. The people placed her on the lap of his lordship, and said: 'O apostle of Allah, this is thy wife—may God the Most High make her a blessing to thee, and thee a blessing to her.' When the people departed, the prophet consummated the marriage; but on that day there was no food, except a jar of milk, which had been brought from the house of Saa'd B. A'bâdah. Asmâ, the daughter of A'mys, says: 'At the wedding of A'ayshah there was no repast whatever, except a pitcher of milk, of which his lordship the prophet drank some, and stretched forth his hand to A'ayshah for her to take the jar. She was, however, too bashful to do so, and I said to her: "Mother of the Faithful, do not reject what the apostle offers thee." Accordingly A'ayshah very modestly laid hold of the vessel and sipped a little. Then his lordship asked me: "Gives A'ayshah no milk to thee?" I replied: "I feel not inclined for it." The prophet continued: "Are you coupling hunger with falsehood?" I rejoined: "O apostle of Allah, when a person has appetite but says, I am not inclined, is that a falsehood?"'

It is related that during this year the apostle of God saw the Jews keeping the *A'ashûra* fast,[233] and asked them for the reason. They replied: 'To-day's fast is very excellent,

[233] *A'ashûra* means decade, and the term is at present applied to the first ten days of the month Moharram, which begin the year.

because it commemorates the day on which Fara'ûn was drowned, and Mûsa delivered of him. Accordingly he fasted on that day from gratitude for so great a favour, and commanded his people to do so likewise.' It is recorded in some biographies that when the fast during the month Ramadzân became obligatory the zeal concerning the A'ashûra fast diminished. It is narrated that during the time of [pre-Islamitic] ignorance the climate of Madinah had been extremely insalubrious, the plague being so prevalent that every stranger who was there left the city and brayed like an ass in order to remain free from the affliction. In short, during that year most of the Mohâjer fell sick—such as Abu Bakr, O'mar, A'mmâr and Bellâl. During their sickness they recited verses of lamentation, and the last-mentioned individual frequently exclaimed: 'O Allah, curse O'tbah, Shaybah, Ammyah B. Khalaf and Abu Jahl for having exiled us to the land of pestilence!' When that selected one of the Lord of glory was apprised of the miserable condition of his friends, he turned the face of his intention towards the Qiblah of prayer, and said: 'O Allah, cause us to love Madinah as we love Mekkah, and more so. Make it healthy; make its site and extent blessed to us, and remove its heat to Ja'fah.' By the prayer of his lordship, God the Most High then caused the climate of Madinah to agree with the temperaments and constitutions of men, and the diseases inherent in its unhealthiness were removed to Ja'fah. During this year his holy and prophetic lordship tied the knot of fraternity between the Anssâr and the Mohâjer. There were also two other brotherhoods among the Mohâjer in which the Anssâr had no share. These were as follows: The fraternity between Abu Bakr and O'mar, as also between Ttolhah Zobeir, A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf, O'thmân B. A'wuf and O'thmân B. Offân. When the prophet tied the knots of brotherhood between the Mohâjer, his lordship A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—said: 'O apostle of Allah, hast thou appointed no brother for me?' His lordship replied: 'I am thy brother.' Some allege that he said to A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.: 'I am thy

brother in this and in the next world.' It is related that in presence of the Anssâr and the Mohâjer the lord of the righteous took hold of the hand of A'li, saying: 'This is my brother.' Then he tied [between Abu Bakr, Khârjah B. Zayd the Anssari, Solmah the Anssâri, Ttolhah B. A'bdullah, Ka'b B. Mâlek, Mossa'b B. O'mayrah, Abu Ayûb the Anssâri, Abu Khodayqah B. O'tbah, A'mmâr B. Yâser the Anssâri, A'mmâr B. Bashar, Thâbet B. Qays Khazraji, A'bdullah B. Hajash, A'assum B. Thâbet B. Aflah the Anssâri, Arqum B. Arqum, Abu Ttolhah the Anssâri, A'bdullah B. Mutta'wum, Abu-l-hashem B. Althyân, Salmân the Persian, Abu Darda and so on between forty-seven Mohâjer and forty-five Anssâr] the knot of brotherhood to the effect that they should aid each other and inherit property from each other, which [covenant] remained in force till after the fight at Bedr, when the blessed verse 'The kindred [are to love] each other' was revealed in the book of Allah, and the knot of fraternity was abolished. After that every inheritance took place according to the laws of consanguinity as laid down in the Quran.

Something about Salmân the Persian, his reaching the Threshold of his Holy and Prophetic Lordship, and Record of some of his Adventures

Ebn A'bbas narrates that Salmân spoke to him as follows: 'I am the son of a country gentleman from the environs of Essfahân. My father was an opulent ignicolist, possessing a great deal of movable and immovable property. He loved me so well that I was not permitted to leave the house. I was day and night engaged in the mansion of my father in keeping up the [sacred] fire and adoring it. My father possessed fields and buildings, which he visited on account of the agricultural labours carried on there; but taking one day another business in hand, he sent me instead of himself to a certain place, but ordered me to return as soon as possible. As I walked towards the fields, I happened to pass near a Christian church, heard people

singing within, and entering it I found some of them reading the Enjil [Evangel], and some engaged in prayer. I was pleased with the demeanour of this assembly, forgot my agricultural errand, and remained in the place. On asking the people what their religion was, they replied: "The religion of the prophet of God." I further inquired: "Where are the professors of your religion most numerous?" They said: "In the country of Syria." Then the wish to become a Christian took possession of my mind, the religion of ignolatry was refrigerated in my heart, and I spent the day in the place till evening prayers. When I returned home I perceived that my father was so grieved by my absence that he had despatched in all directions messengers, who were unable to find me. When he perceived me he was glad, and exclaimed: "Darling of thy father, where hast thou been so long, and why hast thou not returned soon as I recommended thee?" I replied: "As I was going I saw a Christian church, which I entered, and the tenets of the Christians pleased me so much that I spent the day in their company." At these words my father was much distressed, and said: "My son, abandon not the religion of thy fathers, for it is better than theirs." I replied: "God forbid! the case is quite the contrary." When my father perceived how greatly I was biased in favour of the Christians, he was so much afraid of what I might do that he put fetters on my legs. I, however, secretly despatched a messenger to the Christians requesting them to let me know when a caravan would be starting for Syria. I managed to escape from my confinement, and to arrive with the caravan in Syria, where one of the most eminent Christians sent me to a bishop, who was living in a church. I waited upon him and informed him of my wish to be instructed in the Christian religion. He complied with my wish, and assigned me a dwelling in his neighbourhood. He was a man who persuaded affluent and rich men to give him alms, all of which he kept for himself instead of distributing them among the poor, and therefore I bore him enmity. When he died, and the Christians made prepara-

tions for his burial, I explained to them his covetousness, and showed them not less than seven pitchers full of silver and gold, which the bishop had secreted in a certain place, and seeing which they exclaimed: "By Allah, we shall never bury this corpse." Then they suspended it on a gallows and stoned it. Afterwards they appointed a successor, who was very pious and abstemious, so that I conceived great veneration for him, and remained in his service till he died. When he was almost at the point of death, I said to him: "I have been for so long a time under thy orders, to whom commendest thou me now, as the behest of God the Most High [to die] has reached thee?" He replied: "By Allah! in these times I know no one who is devout rejecting this and coveting the next world, except an individual who is at Maussul." After he had given me directions about this man he expired, and was buried. I went to Maussul, found the hermit, and informed him by whom I had been sent. Hereupon that blessed individual placed the finger of acquiescence on his eye and received me into his company, which I found to be advantageous, happy, and prosperous to me. After I had been attending upon him for some time he fell a prey to a mortal disease, and I requested him on his death-bed to indicate to me a person whose only occupation was piety, so that I might enter his service. The hermit replied: "By Allah! I know of no one who is living in this manner, except a certain man at Nassybyn." After burying him, I went to the just-mentioned place, requested the said pious man to receive me into his company, was accepted, and lived with him till his decease. When he was near his end, I asked him, "To whom commendest thou me?" He replied: "I know of no man who lives as we do. The advent, however, of the prophet of the latter days is at hand, who will receive the mission to revive the religion of Ebrâhim—u. w. b.—who will make his appearance in the Arab country, will flee from his locality to a date-grove situated between two stony deserts, and one of whose numerous characteristics is that he will not receive alms, but will be celebrated for his liberality."' Salmân

continues: 'I was occasionally engaged in business at A'mûryah, and had there acquired several cows and sheep.' After the decease of the bishop I met in that country a caravan of the Bani Keláb, whom I requested to dispose of my cattle and to convey me to Arabia. They agreed, and we started; but when we arrived at Wady-l-Qorâ they dealt treacherously with me, and sold me [as a slave] to one O'thmân B. Asahad, a Jew. In that place I beheld a date-grove, which I fancied to be the place of exile of the promised prophet, but I was not quite certain on the subject. Meanwhile, I remained in the service of the Jew till the son of his uncle arrived from Madinah, purchased me, and took me there. By Allah! when we arrived in that region, I thought I had seen it in past times. At that time his holy and prophetic lordship had fled from Mekkah and arrived in Madinah. I happened on that very day to be plucking fresh dates from a tree, at the foot whereof my owner was sitting, when the son of his uncle arrived, and exclaimed: "Cursed be the Awus and the Khazraj who are sitting at Qobba near a man who has arrived from Mekkah and pretends to be a prophet." When I heard these words I nearly fell down from the tree for joy. Then I alighted from the tree, and asked: "What hast thou said?" My master, becoming angry, struck me on the ear, and asked: "What hast thou to do with such gossip; go about thy business." I retorted: "It is an easy matter [to strike me]. I desire to know what he says?"' Salmân—may God reward him—continues: 'When the night set in, I took some dates with me, went to Qobba, entered the assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship, and said: "I have heard that thou art a man noted for piety; many strangers are in need of thy company. I consider thee more worthy than others to receive, as alms, these few dates I have with me." His lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—intimated to his friends to eat, but would not do so himself. Then I said to myself: "This is one of his characteristics which I learnt from the bishop," and, departing from the illuminated assembly, I went home. When his lordship honoured

Madinah with his presence, I brought a small repast with me, and, offering it to him, said: "On a former occasion I brought alms, which thou didst not eat; to-day I have brought a present to honour thee." The apostle of Allah then partook with his companions of the food I had brought, and I said: "This is the second characteristic."' It is related of Salmân that he said: 'On the second occasion I brought twenty-five dates into the assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and the assembly consisted likewise of twenty-five persons, but I saw a thousand kernels of dates. A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—kissed my head, and his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b—told them to dress me in robes, whereon Abu Bakr put the garments on me which he himself wore.' Salman the Persian continues: 'The third time I visited his lordship I found him in the cemetery of Baqyi', he having gone there with the bier of one of his companions. When I arrived in that place, and stood opposite to his august person, I saluted him, and afterwards turned to his blessed rear, that I might take a view of the seal of prophecy. His lordship guessed my intention, and bared his hallowed back of the *redâ* [wrapper]. As soon as I beheld the seal of prophecy I kissed it, wept, and said: "I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah." Then his lorship said: "Return." I then again fa ed him, and narrated my affairs in detail, whereat he was astonished, and desired his companions to hearken to my adventures. Accordingly I related them, and they listened.' It is on record that Salmân, having been a slave, was unable to be present at the battle of Bedr, and therefore missed it. Salmân continued: "One day the apostle of God told me to redeem myself from my owner; accordingly I requested him to allow me to become a *Mukâttib*,[234] and after a great deal of haggling he agreed that I should plant for him three hundred date-trees, and take care of them, and also pay to him forty Oqyahs of

[234] A *Mukâttib* was a slave who ransomed himself by his master's assent to receive a sum of money, or to perform certain work, or both.

silver for my ransom and liberty. When I informed his lordship of this bargain, he said to his companions: "Assist the Persian *Mukâttib.*" They complied. Some gave me ten, and some fifteen plants, until I had collected three hundred. His lordship then said: "Go and prune off the inequalities, and inform me when thou hast done so." I acted as I was bid, and told the prophet—u. w. b.—so. Accordingly he condescended to honour me with his presence, and planted all the saplings with his own blessed hands, and I swear by that God, in the power of whose grasp the lives of all Musalmâns are, that not one of the plants failed, but in a few days all of them sprouted and flourished. I surrendered the trees to my owner, but the forty Oqyahs of silver still remained to be paid; I possessed nothing, and had no idea how I might pay them. On that occasion a lump of silver of the size of a hen's egg was brought to his lordship as a share of plunder, and he said: "What has the Persian *Mukâttib* done?" Accordingly I was brought in, and the apostle of Allah said to me: "Salmân, take this and pay from it what thou owest." I asked: "What is this? It is not one sixth of the claim he has upon me." Hereon the apostle of Allah took hold of the silver-ingot, rubbed against it his wonderfully eloquent tongue, and said: "Take this with the blessing of God the Most High, and it will pay all thou owest."' Salmân continues: 'I swear by that God, in the hand of whose power my life is, that when I weighed the egg I found it to amount to forty Oqyahs, and not one Mithqâl more nor less. Accordingly I paid my master his claim, and was delivered from the misery of bondage. After that I attended during the wars upon his lordship the refuge of the apostolate.'

It is proper to know that concerning Salmân's meeting the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—and concerning the occasion of his liberation from the affliction of slavery, also other traditions have been handed down to our times, which are recorded in detailed accounts. It is related of Salmân that he said: 'I gradually belonged to seventeen owners.'

Some of the chief historians have narrated that he attained the age of three hundred and fifty years, but none have stated that he lived less than two hundred and fifty years. In the *Seir Kazrâni* it is written that Salmân departed in the thirty-third year of the Flight [A.D. 653] to the gardens of paradise. It is well known that the Mohâjer contended with the Anssâr, each party accounting him as one of themselves. The lord of existences—u. w. b.—uttered with his pearl-dropping tongue the words: 'Salmân is a person belonging to our own family.' In this year his holy and prophetic lordship prayed with some of his companions over the grave of Barây B. Maghrûr, who had died one month before the Flight, and said: 'O Allah, pardon him, have mercy upon and be pleased with him!' The just-named individual was one of the twelve Anssâr chiefs whose names have been recorded above in the covenant of A'qâbah. During this year also Kalthûm B. Hudm—who had become a Musalmân before his lordship the refuge of termination found an asylum in Madinah—departed this life—m. A. r. h.

THE EVENTS OF THE SECOND YEAR AFTER THE FLIGHT OF THE PRINCE OF THE RIGHTEOUS.

During the month Sha'bân of this year[235] the fast of Ramadzân was made obligatory, the alms on breaking the fast became an ordinance, and on the last-mentioned festival his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—went out to the desert and held prayers to a congregation. In this year also the Ka'bah was appointed to be the *Qiblah*.[236] The ancients are at variance in what direction the *Qiblah* was before the Flight. Some allege that in Mekkah his lordship was accustomed to turn his face towards Jerusalem when he said his prayers, but others state that he turned towards the *Qiblah* of the Friend of the

[235] This month began on the 28th January, A.D. 624.

[236] This is the direction in which all Moslems must turn when they are engaged in their prayers, no matter in what part of the world they may be. For this purpose a small magnetic compass, named *Qiblah-numâ*, i.e., Qiblah-indicator, may be used.

Merciful,[237] namely, the house of the Ka'bah. When that prince arrived in Madinah he prayed with his face towards Jerusalem to please the Jews, and continued thus for some time; but when it came to his knowledge that the Jews were saying: 'It is strange that Muhammad differs with us in the religion, but agrees with us in the *Qiblah*,' his illuminated mind was offended that the possessors of the book[238] opposed him, and he decided to change the *Qiblah* from Jerusalem to another direction, but waited for a Divine revelation on this subject. Accordingly when his lordship happened to be one day engaged in ante-meridian prayers with his companions in the mosque of Solmah, Jebrâil made his appearance and revealed the following verse: 'Verily we behold thee turning thy face to the sky; therefore we appoint thee a *Qiblah* thou lovest. Turn therefore thy face to the sacred mosque.'[239] When this verse descended his lordship was making the second prayer-flexion, but immediately turned towards the Ka'bah. The friends of his lordship, who imitated him, did so likewise, and thus completed their prayers. Afterwards this was surnamed the mosque of the two Qiblahs. When the direction of the *Qiblah* was changed, those who were displeased railed, and the foolish Jews said: 'Muhammad has abandoned our *Qiblah* only from envy,' whereon the verse was revealed: 'The foolish men will say: What hath turned them from their *Qiblah*, towards which they formerly prayed? Say: Unto Allah belongeth the east and the west; He directeth whom He pleaseth into the right way.'[240] The *Qiblah* was changed in the second year after the Flight, about the middle of the month Rajab. Abu Sa'yd Hadry states that when the *Qiblah* was altered the apostle of God came to the mosque of Qobba and changed its wall, so that the one now existing was arranged with his own blessed hands, and the *Qiblah* rectified. It is said that

[237] The epithet of Abraham. See also 2 Chronicles, ch. xx. 7: 'Abraham Thy friend.'
[238] Both the Jews and Christians are called 'possessors of the book.'
[239] Qurân, ch. ii. 139
[240] Qurân, ch. ii. 136.

his holy and prophetic lordship was accustomed to go on Sundays to the mosque of Qobba, and it is authenticated that he said with his own wonderfully eloquent tongue: 'Whoever performs the [religious] ablution, enters the mosque of Qobba, and prays there, will obtain his reward.'

During the second year of the Flight also the matrimonial knot was tied between his lordship A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—and Fattimah Zohra—u. w. b. It is alleged that awhile before the said event Ssiddiq waited upon the prince of existences—u. w. b.—and sued for the hand of Fattimah, but his lordship replied: 'I am waiting for a revelation.' Ssiddiq [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] repeated these words to Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar], and the latter said: 'He has rejected thy request.' After that Ssiddiq said to Fârûq: 'Take thou this business in hand.' Accordingly O'mar waited upon his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and proffered Ssiddiq's request, but obtained the same answer, which he then communicated to the disappointed suitor. After a few days the friends and confidants of A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—advised him to sue for the hand of the princess of the women of this world, but he replied: 'How can I obtain the girl after Abu Bakr and O'mar have been refused?' His friends nevertheless insisted, and said: 'Thy connection with his lordship is more intimate than that of any other man, because thou art a relative, and thy proposal is likely to be responded to.' It is related in the *As'llâmu-l-wara* that after the two old gentlemen had thus been disappointed, some persons said to A'li: 'Why suest thou not for Fattimah?' and that he answered: 'I possess nothing.' They rejoined: 'His lordship wants nothing from thee.' Then Murtadza—u. w. b—waited upon his lordship, but was so bashful that he could not speak anything, and returned. The next day he again paid a visit, but was too modest to utter one word [on the subject]. When, however, he made his appearance the third time, his lordship asked: 'Perhaps thou hast come to sue for the hand of Fattimah?' He replied: 'Yes, O apostle of Allah'

The prophet—u. w. b.—gracefully accepted his request, and in most of the biographies it is stated that A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b—said: 'When I waited upon the apostle of Allah—u. w. b—to sue for the hand of Fattimah Zohra, saluted him, and silently took a seat, he returned my greeting, and asked: "A'li, what wantest thou?" I replied: "I ask for the hand of Fattimah." And he only replied: "Welcome! welcome!" When I had left the exalted assembly, a number of Anssâr met, and asked me whether he had given me his daughter or not. I replied that he only said: "Welcome! welcome!" They continued: "One of the two words uttered by his lordship is sufficient for thee."' In the *Aa'llâmu-l-wara* it is recorded that Jebrail appeared to the apostle of Allah, and said: 'O apostle of Allah, God commands thee to marry Fattimah to A'li.' The prophet—upon whom and upon whose family be the blessing of Allah—said to Fattimah: 'A'li, the son of Abu Tâleb, is a man whose consanguinity to me and excellence in Islâm are well known. I have asked my God to marry thee to the best of His creatures, and to gather them all [at last] to Himself. Something concerning thee has been mentioned' And explaining the proposal, he concluded: 'Make thy decision' She remained, however, silent, and the apostle of Allah took it [*i.e.*, her silence] for consent.

It is related after A'kramah, that when A'li—u. w. b.—sued for Fattimah, his lordship the apostle said: 'What marriage-gift wilt thou settle upon her?' A'li replied: 'I have nothing with me.' His lordship continued: 'Where is thy Hattymah coat of mail?' He acknowledged that it was in his possession, whereon his lordship ordered him to settle it upon her as a marriage portion. It is said that the Lord A'li—u. w. b.—sold that coat of mail to O'thmân for four hundred and eighty dirhems. It was a broad and heavy one, upon which no sabre could take effect; but after O'thmân had bought it, he again presented A'li therewith. Then Murtadza A'li took it, and surrendered it, together with its price of four hundred and eighty dirhems, to the

Musstafa—u. w. b.—and his lordship then pronounced a benediction upon O'thmân. There is a tradition that two danks of the above sum were spent on perfume and four on a trousseau, consisting of a robe, two silver bracelets, a linen coverlet, and a small pillow of the same material, but some allege that there were two pillows; other necessaries were also purchased from the above sum.

It is related of Awus B. Mâlek that he said: 'I was with his lordship when the signs of Divine revelation appeared on him, which having irradiated him, he said: "Awus, knowest thou what message Jebrâil has brought from the Lord of glory?" I replied: "O apostle of Allah, may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! What is it?" He continued: "The message to me is: God commands thee to marry Fattimah to A'li." He continued: "Awus, go and take Abu Bakr, O'mar, O'thmàn, Ttolhah, and Zobeir, with a number of the Anssar, and tell them that I am calling them." I obeyed the command of his lordship, and invited them. When they were assembled, the Lord A'li being also present, his lordship the refuge of the apostolate delivered a very eloquent and rhetorical harangue as follows: "God the most glorious and magnificent has ordered me to give [my daughter] Fattimah to A'li B. Abu Tâleb for a wife. Accordingly I have given her to A'li for a wife, for a marriage portion of four hundred mithqàls of silver. A'li, consentest thou?" Thereon the latter replied affirmatively.' In some traditions it is narrated that the Commander of the Faithful [Ali] held the matrimonial oration by order of the apostle of God, whereon the latter pronounced a benediction upon A'li—u. w. b.—and upon Fattimah—u. w. b.—saying: 'May God make you of one mind, prosper and bless your efforts, and give you a numerous and prosperous offspring.' The [matrimonial] knot having been tied, a plate of dates was produced at the behest of the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—and everyone present took a handful of dates. Asmà, the daughter of A'mys, says: 'When Fattimah was given to A'li, I found no other carpet in his house except strewed sand. I also

perceived a mattress stuffed with date-fibres, and an earthen vessel with a jug.'

It is related that his lordship the refuge of apostleship —u. w. b.—sent Fattimah—u. w. b.—to the house of A'li in the company of Omm Selym, and that he had, after reciting his dormitory prayers, himself paid them a visit with a pitcher of water, into which he threw some of his blessed saliva, having pronounced over it twice the 'I take refuge'[341] and some prayers. Then he sprinkled some of that water upon the head, face, and breast of Fattimah—u. w. b.—some on the head of A'li—u. w. b.—and between his two shoulders, saying: 'My God, they belong to me, and I to them. As defilement has departed from me, and Thou hast cleansed me, so cleanse them both.' Then he said: 'Arise, and go to bed. May God associate you to each other, and bless you in your progeny!' When his lordship was going away, Fattimah wept, whereon the prophet turned back and said: 'O my daughter, why weepest thou? I have given thee to be the wife of him who precedes all others in Islâm, and is pre-eminent over everybody in the knowledge of God.' In some traditions it is related that the lord of existences—u. w. b.—said: 'I have given thee a husband who is the best man of my family.' He also said: 'I swear by Him in whose hands my life is that I have married thee to a prince in this world who will be one of the blessed in the next.' Some allege that he said: 'I have given thee away in marriage in this world and in the next.' Jâber the Anssâri—u. w. b.—says: 'I was present at the wedding of Fattimah—u. w. b.—and Ali—u. w. b.—nor did I ever see a marriage better than that. The prophet—u. w. b.—presented us with dates, raisins, and lemons, and we ate of them.' It is recorded that Sa'd had brought roasted meat, and some of the Anssâr brought several goblets full of millet, which constituted the wedding meal of Fattimah. Hassan Bosary—A. h. m. o. h.—says that Fattimah—u. w. b.—and A'li—u. w. b.—possessed a counterpane which was not large

[341] Formula against sorcery. See Qurân, ch. cxiii. and cxiv.

enough to cover them both. It is recorded in the *Seir Kazrûni* that both the wedding and the consummation thereof had taken place in the month Rabyi' the first, but in the *Rauzatu-l-âhbâb* it is stated that it was celebrated in the month Rajab during the second year of the Flight, and the consummation of it likewise during the same month. According to another tradition, however, it was held after Fattimah—u. w. b.—had, by the command of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—made arrangements for the interior, and A'li B. Abu Taleb for the exterior of the house. Both, however, being unequal to their tasks, Fattimah—u. w. b.—went, with the approbation of A'li—u. w. b.—to the house of the prince of existences—u. w. b.—in order to obtain the aid of one of the girls who had been brought for that occasion; but as his lordship was not in the house, Fattimah explained the case, and returned. When the lord of existences—u. w. b.—had arrived at home, Ssiddiqah [*i.e.*, his wife A'ayshah] stated the request of Fattimah, whereon that prince of the sons of Adam condescended to pay her a visit that night; but finding her in bed with A'li—u. w. b.—he said: 'Do not move, but remain in your place.' Then his lordship sat down just above their heads, and, placing his blessed feet between A'li and Fattimah, said to the pupil of his eye: 'Thou hast been at my house to ask for assistance.' A'li replied: 'I have sent Fattimah on account of the trouble she had in setting the house to rights.' The Musstafa said: 'I shall teach you something which will be better than a servant. When you go to bed you must thirty-four times say: "God is great!" and thirty-three times: "Praise be to God!" This will be better for you than a servant.' A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—says: 'I began that very moment to recite these words, and never omitted them afterwards.' Having been [long afterwards] asked whether he had not forgotten them in *the night of abhorrence*,[242] he replied: 'I had left them out in the beginning of the night, but I made good the omission during the end of it.'

[242] The original expression is *Laylatu l-haryr*.

The narrative of the events of that night will be recorded in the wars of A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b. —with Moa'wiah B. Abu Sofyan, if it pleaseth Allah the most high.

During this year also the blessed verse, ' And those who fight for the religion of Allah, although they may have been oppressed, Allah is able to aid them,'[243] was revealed, and the religious war commenced. It is necessary to know that, according to the usage of biographers, every military expedition in which his lordship was present, and which started against the enemies of the religion, be it that fighting actually took place or not, is, according to its intention and departure, called *Ghazâ* or *Ghazwah*. On the other hand, whenever a legion of the companions was despatched for defence or attack against those who were misguided, it is named *Seriah*. Some assert that this year his lordship the refuge of prophecy — u. w. b. — sent O'baydah B. Alhâreth, who was called the Sheikh of the Mohâjer, with sixty of the latter, and some say seventy, against a number of the Qoraish who had come out from Mekkah for a certain purpose, and that having prepared a white flag for that Seriah, he gave it to Mosattah B. Athâmah.[244] Some assert that this was the first banner of the banners of Islam, which was tied to a staff and set up. This expedition marched and reached the idolaters, whose number amounted to two hundred. According to some traditions, Abu Sofyân commanded the hostile party on that occasion. When both sides met, they commenced to shoot arrows at each other, and the first man of the professors of Islâm who discharged an arrow against them was Sa'ad B. Abu Woqqâss. The image-worshippers fancied that another portion of the army of Islâm had been kept in reserve to watch and to attack them, wherefore they fled. It is said that on that said day Sa'ad B. Abu Woqqass had twenty arrows with him, every one of which struck an idolater. Sa'ad relates:

[243] Quran, ch. xlvii. 8 is something like this.

[244] The tying of a flag implied giving command to him for whom it was tied.

'When the Qoraish began to flee, I turned to O'baydah B. Alhâreth, and said: "We ought to pursue the idolaters, because they are afraid of us." But Abu O'baydah would not consent, and therefore they returned to Madinah.' Some say that the first man whom the apostle—u. w. b.—appointed Amir was Hamzah, and that the first standard he tied was for him. The reason for sending Hamzah was as follows: When it came to the august hearing of his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—that a number of the Qoraish were just returning from a commercial journey from Syria to Mekkah, he prepared a banner and ordered Hamzah B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb to hasten with thirty Mohâjer to attack the caravan. It is related that before this contest his holy and prophetic lordship had not ordered the Anssâr to take part in the religious wars because he thought they would not aid his cause, unless the enemies attacked Madinah itself. In short, his lordship despatched Hamzah towards the caravan, who accordingly started to Sayfu-l-bahar, which belongs to the region of Khamynah, and met—after performing the journey—Abu Jahl with the caravan of the Qoraish, which consisted of three hundred men. When, however, the two armies met and desired to attack each other, Muhammad B. O'mar Jahany, who was under oath from both parties, stepped between them and interfered, so that the caravan entered the sanctuary [of Mekkah] without let or hindrance, and Hamzah with his companions returned to Madinah. When his lordship the apostle was informed of the mediation of Muhammad, that prince approved of his interference and sent him a gift. According to the *Rauzatu-l-ahbâb*, the narrative of the *Ghazwatu-l-Abrâr*, which is also named *Ghazuat Duzdân*, preceded the just-recorded two Seriahs, and it is narrated therein that during the first, the second, and till the end of the third year the apostle of Allah had appointed Sa'd B. E'bâdah as his lieutenant in Madinah, and that he started in person from it with a number of his companions against the Qoraish and the Bani Dzumayrah, and that when they had reached the stage of Abrâr, Mahshy B. O'mar, the

chief of the tribe Dzumayrah, came forward and made a treaty of peace, whereon his holy and prophetic lordship returned from that place.

In this year he tied a banner for Sa'ad B. Abu Woqqâss and despatched him with twenty individuals against a caravan of the Qoraish to Harra, which is situated near Jahnah, and ordered him not to march beyond that place. Accordingly Sa'ad started with his men for that destination, marched during the night, and lay concealed in the day. When, however, he arrived on the fifth day at Harra, he was informed that the caravan had [already] passed one day before. Therefore he returned again to Madinah. In the *Mustaqadza* it is recorded that during the first year of the Flight [*i.e.*, Hegira] the verse of *Slaughter*[245] had been revealed. During this year his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—also despatched the above-mentioned Seriahs against the enemies and opponents; but Allah the Most High knows best about the correctness of this statement. In the second year of the Flight his lordship also started with two hundred of his companions against a caravan of the Qoraish, which travelled with one thousand five hundred camels. When he departed from Madinah he appointed Sa'd Moghad as his lieutenant therein, marched as far as the Wády, near a mountain called Radzuwy, but did not meet the idolaters, and returned to Madinah. During this same year it also reached the exalted hearing of his lordship the best of men that a great number of the Qoraish were travelling with abundant merchandise to [the town of] Ghazwah, which is situated in Syria. The said caravan consisted of one thousand camels, carried fifty thousand gold dinárs, and every inhabitant of Mekkah who owned property had despatched some goods therewith. Accordingly his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—prepared a standard and appointed Hamzah B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb over it; and leaving Abu Solmah B. A'bd-ul-asad Makhzumy as his lieutenant in Madinah he departed

[245] 'When ye encounter the unbelievers strike off [their] heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them,' Qurân, ch. xlvii. 4

—according to a certain tradition—with two hundred men to U'shrat which is a locality in the plain of Baqyi'; but arriving there he learnt that the caravan had already passed and was distant. He therefore returned from U'shrat to Madinah. In this march A'li B. Abu Taleb—u. w. b.—disappeared with Abu Turab, which happened as follows: A'mmâr Yâser and A'li—u. w. b.—had fallen asleep in a sandy plain, but his lordship the refuge of termination happened to come across them, and, awakening them, said: 'Get up, O Abu Turâb!' and further exclaimed: 'O Ali, I shall inform thee who is the most wretched of the wretched.' A'li Murtadza said: 'Speak, O apostle of God.' Then his lordship uttered with his august tongue the words: 'The most unfortunate men are two. The one is he who cut off the feet of Sâlah's camel,[240] and the other is he who will besmear thy face and moustache with blood.' When his lordship the refuge of apostleship said these words, he passed his two blessed hands over the countenance of A'li—u. w. b.

In this year his lordship the apostle went out of Madinah with twenty Mohâjer in pursuit of Karaz B. Jâber B. Fahri, who had driven away and stolen the camels of his lordship; the latter appointed Zaid B. Hâreth as his lieutenant in Madinah, and having with his blessed hands presented the standard to Ali B. Abu Taleb, he marched after Karaz as far as the Wâdy Ssafuwan, which is in the vicinity of Bedr; but having been unable to find him, he returned to Madinah, and this is called the first Ghazwah of Bedr.

During this year his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—despatched A'bdullah B. Hajash Asdy, the son of his paternal aunt, with twelve men, and according to other traditions with eight or nine, to the Battan of Nakhlah, Sa'ad B. Abu Woqqâss, A'kâshah B. Abu Muhssan Asdy, Abu Hodqah B. O'tbah B. Rabya'h, and O'tbah B. Ghazwân being of that blessed company. A'bdullah B. Hajash says: 'On a certain night when the prince of

[240] Qurân, ch. vii. 75 'And they hamstrung the she-camel,' etc. For full details of this story see Part I., vol. i., p. 115

existences — u. w. b. — finished his evening prayers he ordered me to arm myself next morning and to come to him to be sent somewhere. I acted as I was bid, and a number of the Qoraish were with me. His lordship dictated a letter to Abu B. Ka'b, gave it to me, appointed me leader of the men, and ordered me not to peruse the letter until after the expiration of two days, whereon I was to communicate it to my companions, and to act in conformity with its contents. I asked: "O apostle of Allah, in what direction am I to depart?" And he said: "March towards Najd."' It is related that A'bdullah started with his companions, and that he opened the letter after two days, its contents being as follows: 'In the name of Allah the merciful, the clement!' But after [the usual preamble]: 'Advance in the name of God the Most High and Glorious, and when thou arrivest by His blessing in the Battan of Nakhlah with thy companions, wait there for the caravan of the Qoraish, because thou mayst probably derive profit therefrom. Nor must thou take anyone with thee against his own will. Let those who like accompany thee, and those remain who like to stay behind.' After perusing this letter A'bdullah said to his companions: 'I am going to the Battan of Nakhlah, but I force no one to accompany me. Let all who covet martyrdom come with me, and let all return who wish to do so.' Then all replied: 'By the blessing of God we obey His command and that of the prophet. Advance with the benediction of God, for we shall not lag behind thee.' On that day Sa'ad B. Abu Woqqâss and O'tbah B. Ghazwân lost the camel which they rode by turns, and departed in search of it by the permission of Ebn Hajash. The other companions [meanwhile] traversed the distance, and arrived in the Battan of Nakhlah. Then the caravan of the Qoraish, which was accompanied also by A'mru B. Alkhadzramy, Hukm B. Kyân, O'thmân B. A'bdullah Makhzûmy, and by his brother Naufil B. A'bdullah, met the army of Islâm in the Battan of Nakhlah. The idolaters, being suspicious, desired to accelerate their march, so that A'bdullah divined their

intention, and said to his friends: 'The people of the caravan are afraid. Let a man shave his head, to make them believe that we are going on pilgrimage to Mekkah, and to free them from their apprehensions.' Accordingly A'amer B. Rabya'h shaved the head of A'kâshah B. Muhsan, and the latter thus displayed himself to the idolaters, so that when they perceived him they said to each other: 'These people are going on pilgrimage.' They were accordingly pacified, allowed their camels to stray in the plain, and began to eat their meal. Although that day was the beginning of the month Rajab, the Musalmâns were not sure whether it was the last of the month Jomâdy the second, or the first of Rajab; accordingly they did not know whether they ought to attack the caravan or not,[247] and held a consultation, wherein they arrived at the decision to annihilate the caravan of aberration. Accordingly, they made a sudden rush upon the infidels, and among the professors of Islâm Waqed B. A'bdullah shot an arrow at A'mru B. Khadzramy, sending him to the infernal regions. O'thmân B. A'bdullah and Hukm B. Kyân were captured in the grasp of fate, Naufil ran away, and the whole property of the caravan fell into the hands of the Musalmans. It is related in the *Mustaqadza* that the first idolater and infidel who fell at the hands of those who were fighting for the religion was A'mru Dhu-l-Khadzramy, and that the first prisoners were O'thman with Hukm B. Kyân. When A'bdullah B. Hajash and the conquering warriors were returning from the Battan of Nakhlah and approached Madinah, A'bdullah picked out some goods for his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and distributed the rest among his friends, although at that time the verse concerning the fifth part [of the booty] had not yet been revealed.[248] When the idolatrous Qoraish heard what had taken place, they said: 'The affairs of Muhammad will

[247] Rajab being one of the four sacred months, fighting is illicit during it.

[248] 'And know that whenever ye gain any [spoils], a fifth part thereof belongeth unto Allah and to the apostle, and [his] kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller,' etc. (Qurân, ch. viii. 42).

scarcely prosper, because he has disregarded a sacred month, and has ordered blood to be shed and depredations to be committed therein.' They blamed the Musalmâns who were in Mekkah, and delivered speeches to the Jews as well. When the conversations of the opponents reached the most holy audition of his lordship the apostle, he ordered the goods of the spoils by no means to be spent, kept Hukm B. Kyân and O'thmân, who were prisoners, in abeyance, and blamed the companions of the Seriah, saying to them: 'I have not ordered you to fight in a sacred month.' He reproved all the companions of A'bdullah B. Hajash with their friends, so that they all repented and thought that the wrath of the Lord would befall those who had been present in that expedition. Meanwhile the following verse was revealed: 'They will ask thee concerning the sacred month [whether they may wage] war therein. Answer: To war therein is grievous, but to obstruct the way of Allah, and infidelity towards Him, and [to keep men from] the holy mosque, and to drive out His people from thence, is more grievous in the sight of Allah, and the temptation [to idolatry] is more grievous than to kill [in the sacred month].'[240] At this verse those rejoiced who had been present in that Seriah, and after the Ghazwah of Bedr his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—divided the property in the same manner as A'bdullah B. Hajash had distributed it, but some allege that he divided it immediately. It is related that the Qoraish sent a messenger to his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—requesting him to liberate Hukm B. Kyan and O'thmân, but the prince of existences replied: 'Sa'ad B. Abu Woqqâss and O'tbah B. Ghazwân went in search of a camel; if they return in safety to Madinah, we shall liberate the two prisoners, but if not, we shall kill them in retaliation for those two individuals.' When Sa'ad and O'tbah returned his lordship the prophet offered Islâm to the two prisoners, who first refused, but afterwards Hukm B. Kyân was ennobled by professing Islâm, and having in the battle against the son of

[240] Qurân, ch. ii. 214.

Moa'wiah tasted the beverage of martyrdom, he departed to the gardens of paradise. O'thmân B. A'bdullah, not having been aided by [Divine] grace, returned after his liberation to Mekkah, where he persisted in his infidelity and wickedness until his departure to the abode of perdition.

THE GREATER BATTLE OF BEDR.

During this year the greater Ghazwah of Bedr took place. Some allege that Bedr is the name of a well, dug by a man of that name. This Ghazwah occurred as follows: When the Sempiternal Will had decided to elevate the standards of Islâm, and to demolish the edifice of infidelity and darkness, a number of the idolaters of Mekkah departed to Syria with plenty of goods. On that journey the chief of the caravan of the advocates of aberration and of rebellion [from God] was Abu Sofyân B. Harb, who was accompanied by A'mru A'ass. When this news reached the hearing of the veracious promulgator and the best of created beings, he departed from Madinah with the most noble of the Mohâjer and Anssâr to pursue the caravan. After traversing the [intervening] distance they reached U'shrat, but failed to meet the caravan, and therefore returned, as has already been narrated above. On this occasion the penetrating mind, who was the promulgator of the lights of revelation, considered that the heat of the infidels could not be quenched without the play of bright scimitars, and that this end could not be easily attained in the world [in which affairs succeed by the aid] of means, without [obtaining possession of] the goods of the opponents which have in the *Preserved Table*[250] been appointed to be the salary of warriors. Therefore his lordship despatched Ttolhah B. A'bdullah and Saa'd B. Zayd Nafyl to the frontiers of Syria in order to bring the news when those dark-hearted ones would return. Accordingly, they started

[250] This is a table of vast size, on which the past and future Divine decrees are recorded. For further details about it see Part I., vol. 1, p 35, and index of the same.

in that direction, and, after performing the journey, arrived in Bakhâr, where they alighted in the habitation of Kashatt Jahny, who entertained them hospitably. After a short while Abu Sofyan and A'mru A'ass started on their return journey from Syria with the caravan, arrived at Bakhâr, and questioned Kashatt whether any spies of Muhammad had made their appearance; he, however, concealed the affairs of those two friends and gave no information. The caravan being nevertheless in great dread of the professors of Islâm, passed as quickly as possible through the said locality, travelling night and day. When the caravan was departing Sa'yd[261] and Ttolhah mounted the top of a hill, took a view of the baggage of the caravan, and started the next morning for Madinah, where they arrived after performing the journey, but found the centre of prophecy and abode of dignity empty of the person of the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—all his intimate friends having likewise joined the soldiers of the religion and the lions of the plain of certitude.

The illuminated mind of the rising sun—*i.e.*, the prince of this world—had been struck by the idea that 'opportunity travels like a cloud,' and had therefore on the twelfth, or eighth, or third of the month Ramadzan, left Madinah on the wings of haste, accompanied by the noblest of the Mohâjer and of the Anssâr, in order to punish Abu Sofyân and to plunder the caravan. This was the first Ghazwah wherein the Anssâr had the honour to participate, many of the great companions having remained behind, because they were of opinion that [in this expedition] plunder alone was the object, and not war against the enemies of the religions.

The first halting-place of the victorious army was Baqyi', which became celebrated by the name of 'the fools' houses,' where his lordship harangued the troops, and advised all those who were not accustomed to fighting to return. Accordingly some striplings returned on account of their immature age. When this proceeding was terminated,

261 *Supra* Saa'd.

A'bdullah B. A'mru the Anssâri said: 'O apostle of Allah, I am very glad at thy having halted at this propitious locality, and am sure thou wilt be victorious, because in the time of [pre-Islamitic] ignorance, when we marched against Khosru, we stopped here and reviewed our troops, allowing numbers of them who had not yet stepped from the area of childhood into the plain of youth to return. Then we bared the sabre of valour, erected the banner of victory, hastened to the enemy, and defeated him to our heart's content, so that we returned gloriously with the booty we had taken. Now I hope thou wilt meet the Qoraish, overthrow thy foes, and wilt by the aid of God return to the abode of nobility and dignity.'

When the army marched away from the 'houses of the fools' his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—ordered Qays B. Abu Ssa'ssa'h to number it near the well of Abu O'tbah. According to general opinion, all the companions, except eight men who had stayed behind to terminate some affairs, made their appearance and amounted to the number of three hundred and thirteen, exactly like the number of Tâlût [Saul] who went to war against Jâlût.[252] According to another tradition, seventy of the Mohâjer were present in this Ghazwah, and the remainder were Anssâr. Abu Hanifah Dinwari relates in his chronicle that the whole army amounted to three hundred and seventeen men; but according to another statement three hundred and fifteen men went forth from Madinah under the command of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—but Allah is most wise.

Of the eight men [above alluded to as having stayed behind], one was O'thmân B. O'ffân, who is said to have remained in Madinah by order of his lordship—u. w. b.—to take care of his sick wife, she being the prophet's —u. w. b.—daughter. The army of Islam possessed seventy-two camels, three horses—or two, according to another tradition—eight coats of mails, and eight sabres.

[252] Goliath, Qurân, ch. ii 251. See also Part I., vol. ii., p. 45, of this series.

When the auspicious person of his lordship the best of men looked at his companions he turned his face of intention to the Qiblah of prayer, and exclaimed: 'O Lord, they are light and their baggage is inconsiderable; therefore aid them. They are naked; therefore clothe them. They are poor; therefore enrich them from Thy bounty.' The arrow of destiny struck the target of response, and all the companions returned from that journey with joy and riches, as shall be related by-and-by, if it pleaseth God the Most High.

In that Ghazwah two, three, or even four men were riding one camel. The apostle of God—u. w. b.—the lord A'li B. Abu Tâleb—u. w. b.—and Zaid B. Hârethah were mounted upon one camel. Some biographers narrate, however, that at the commencement Abu-l-bâbah rode with them, and that Zaid took his place only after the former had been ordered to return to Madinah as governor thereof. It is related that when the turn to walk on foot fell upon that royal cavalier of the plain of prophecy, the two blessed individuals who were his fellow-riders requested him not to alight from the camel, and proposed to walk instead of him, but he replied: 'O people, you belong to me, and I belong to you, nor am I more willing to lose merit than yourselves.' There is a tradition of Raqaa'h B. Râfi' to the effect that he and his brother were riding a young camel, and that when they arrived at Ruhâr the little animal was fatigued. His brother then exclaimed: 'O God, we make a vow to sacrifice this young camel as soon as we return to Madinah.' Raqaa'h says: 'In this emergency the lord of apostleship approached us. When he perceived our helplessness he asked for some water, performed the religious ablution, and ordered us to open the young camel's mouth, into which he poured some of the water, as well as on its humps, posterior, and tail. Then he ordered us to mount it, which we did, whereon it started of its own accord, and we reached the army of Islâm. On our return we again rode the same camel, and when we

reached the Massalla[253] of Madinah it would progress no farther, so we slaughtered it, distributing the flesh among the indigent and poor.'

When the troops, bent on victory, again marched away from the 'fools' houses,' his holy and prophetic lordship despatched Leyth B. A'mru and A'dy B. Abu Râbah as a vanguard to spy out the caravan. Accordingly they started in the direction of Bedr, and when they arrived in that locality they heard a girl telling to another that the caravan of the Qoraish would arrive there in a day or two. They immediately returned and conveyed this information to his lordship; and, in fact, after their departure Abu Sofyân reached the place, alighted, and asked Muhammad B. A'mru whether he knew anything about the scouts of Muhammad. He received a negative answer, but was told that two camel-riders had arrived, had stopped awhile in a certain place, and again departed. Abu Sofyân investigated the locality, examined the dung of the camels of Leyth and of A'dy, and, finding that it contained date-kernels, he exclaimed: 'They have eaten the food of Yathreb [*i.e.*, Madinah], and I imagine that these camel-riders are spies of Muhammad.' Accordingly Abu Sofyân became very suspicious, and, deflecting from the ordinary road, continued his journey to Mekkah by way of the shore.

While these events were taking place A'atikah, the daughter of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb had a fearful vision, and when it was day she said to her brother A'bbâs: 'Last night I had a dream which portends that thy people, namely the Qoraish, will be overtaken by a calamity, and I shall relate it to thee on condition that thou communicatest it to no one.' A'bbâs complied with his sister's desire, whereon she continued: 'I have dreamt that a camel-rider arrived and halted at Abttah, exclaiming in a loud voice: "O Qoraish, hasten to commit suicide." After that he entered the mosque, the people following him. Then I beheld him, mounted as he was, on the top of the house of the Ka'bah, thrice repeating the above words; and lastly I saw him on

[253] A place of prayer, smaller than a mosque; a chapel.

Mount Abuqbys, calling out to the Qoraish. Then he rolled a stone down from the mountain, which broke to pieces when it reached the plain; nor did a single house remain in Mekkah which had not been struck by a fragment thereof, except the houses of the Bani Hâshem and of the Bani Zohrah.' A'bbâs, however, failed to keep his promise, and related the dream to his friend, Wolyd B. O'tbah B. Rabia'h, nor tried to conceal it; neither did the latter care to keep the matter secret, but narrated to his father what A'bbas had told him, whereon his father, who stood on the threshold of death, replied:

'O life of thy father, listen to my advice,
Divulge not thy secret even to a dear friend,
For the friend will tell it to other friends.'

It is related that on that very day Abu Jahl heard of this dream, and was the next day, when A'bbâs circumambulated the Ka'bah, engaged in relating it to the Qoraish, asking A'bbas: 'O possessor of excellence [or, O father of Fazl], how long is it since that woman has attained prophetic dignity?' A'bbas queried: 'What woman?' Abu Jahl continued: 'Thy sister A'atikah, who has dreamt such and such a dream.' A'bbâs replied: 'I know nothing about it.' Hereon Abu Jahl began to talk nonsense, and said: 'You do not acknowledge the clâims of your men to prophecy, so your women must, forsooth, pretend to be prophetesses. We shall, however, wait three days, and if this dream remains without any consequences, we shall write circulars to the effect that the Bani Hâshem are the most mendacious of all the tribes, and shall send the writing round to all the Arabs.' Then many of the Bani Hâshem made their appearance and quarrelled with him, saying: 'This evil and wicked man [namely, Abu Jahl] has ere this insulted our men by word and deed, and no one has restrained him. Now he lengthens his tongue by reproving our women, and retailing certain stories. Thou hast, however, not prohibited him, nor protruded thy hand from the sleeve of sensitiveness.' A'bbâs replied: 'For the sake of quelling the disturbance, I have said nothing; but if after this Abu

Jahl utters one word, I shall reprove and chastise him.' The third day A'atikah left the house in anger, and entered the sacred mosque; but when Abu Jahl pe ceived her, he suddenly departed, whereon she said: 'Possibly he discovered signs of anger in me, and fled; but I have learnt on that very day that his trouble came from Ssamssam. A'bbâs says: 'After the arrival of Ssamssam Ghuffâry the fire of confusion blazed up so violently that we took no more notice of each other.' The explanation of which words is that on the frontiers of Syria one of the idolaters had said to Abu Sofyàn: 'After thy depaiture in this direction, Muhammad started with his companions from Madinah for the purpose of robbing you; but when he arrived at U'shrat, and could not find you, he necessarily returned. At present, however, he is counting the days in the expectation of meeting you. Therefore the owners of the caravan ought to take their precautions.' Hearing these words, fear overpowered the minds of the opponents, and they hired Ssamssam for twenty mithqàls of gold to convey information to the Qoraish. Accordingly he borrowed speed from lightning, and having cut through the nose of his camel, as also thrown its reins upon it, contrary to usage, he stood up in this manner at Abttah, and exclaimed: 'O ye Qoraish people, O ye prevailing family, to the rescue! Muhammad intends to pillage your caravan, and if you do not hasten to aid it you will not reach it.' Ssamssam is also adduced to have said: 'When I left the caravan and travelled to Mekkah, I dreamt that I was riding on a camel, and that the Wâdy of Mekkah was full of blood. When I awoke, I knew that a great calamity would befall the Qoraish.' It is on record that the Bani Hâshem greatly rejoiced at the arrival of Ssamssam, and said: 'Praise be to Allah! the story of A'atikah has become plain to the people.' In short, the people of Mekkah made preparations to sally forth, Sohayl B. O'mar and Zama'h B. Alaswad encouraging them to do so. Arrangements were made that one-half of the able-bodied men should go forth to protect the caravan, and that the

rich should aid the poor with arms and accoutrements. Waqidi relates that all the Qoraish said to Abu Lahab: 'Thou art a prince of the princes in the nation and tribe. If thou agreest with them in this matter, possibly none will lag behind; therefore it will be proper that thou shouldst either accompany us personally in this journey or send a man in thy stead.' Abu Lahab, however, swore by Lât and by U'zza that he would neither accompany them himself nor send a substitute, the reason of his refusal to leave Mekkah being based on nothing else but the dream of A'atikah. Some allege that Abu Lahab had four thousand dirhems in the keeping of A'ass B. Heshâm B. Moghirah, but that he released him from his obligation, and sent him in his stead.

Waqidi narrates that before the battle of Bedr, and after the Flight, Sa'd B. Moa'adh had once come to Mekkah on pilgrimage, and had taken up his quarters at the house of Ommyah B. Khuluf, but that Abu Jahl, having heard of his arrival, said to Ommyah: 'This is a man who has sheltered Muhammad, agrees with him in enmity towards us, and has entered into a covenant to fight us. Thou, however, sayest nothing to him, but harbourest him in thy house, and allowest him to slip out of our grasp.' Sa'd replied in a high voice: 'Abu Jahl, say and do what seemeth good unto thee, but your caravan must pass by us.' Then Ommyah turned to Sa'd, exclaiming: 'This is Abu-l-hukm,[254] the elder of the inhabitants of the Wady. Do not speak insultingly to him.' Hereon Sa'd B. Moa'adh turned his face to Ommyah B. Khuluf, and said: 'Utterest thou these words, whereas I have heard Muhammad say: "My friends will slay Ommyah B. Khuluf."' Ommyah asked: 'Hast thou heard this from himself?' Sa'd replied: 'Yes.' These words took root in the mind of Ommyah; and when the people of Mekkah

[254] This, as has already been remarked before, is the honorific sobriquet of the man, signifying 'father,' i.e., possessor of wisdom,' whilst those who desired to insult him called him *Abu Jahl*, i.e., 'father of folly,' and son of Heshâm, his actual name being simply A'mru B. Heshâm.

were preparing to go to Bedr he endeavoured to elude the duty of accompanying them, in order to save his life from destruction, and desired to be numbered among the aged and the corpulent. When, however, Abu Jahl and O'tbah B. Abu Moa'ytt had ascertained this circumstance, both of them went to Ommyah, and the latter [*i.e.*, O'tbah], who brought a censer full of coals and perfume, concealed under his skirts, said to Ommyah: 'As thou art unwilling to leave the house, it will be better for thee to fumigate and perfume thyself, because thou belongest to the female sex.' Ommyah replied: 'May Allah curse thee! What hast thou brought?' Abu Jahl also uttered similar words, so that, Ommyah's sense of honour being aroused, he intended to go.

It is related that when the dream of A'atikah was divulged in Mekkah, many sensible individuals, such as Hâreth B. A'amy, O'tbah, Shaybah, O'mmyah, Hakym B. Huzam the son of Ommyah B Khuluf, Abu-l-bahry, and A'ass B Munyah, were grieved, disapproved of the people's marching forth, and also refused to accompany them. When this circumstance became known to Abu Jahl, to O'tbah B. Abu Moa'ytt, and to Nassar B. Hareth, they accused the above-named individuals of wickedness and insulted them, until they were forced to comply with the wishes of the people.

Waqidi says that the Qoraish assembled at Hobal's [idol], and that among them O'tbah and Shaybah drew arrows of vaticination to know whether they ought to go forth from Mekkah, and when the arrow of prohibition issued, Abu Jahl said: 'We shall not act according to the omen, but will aid our caravan.' Waqidi says that after the Qoraish had gone out from Mekkah, Za'mah B. Alaswad one day tried the omen with arrows, and when the negative one came out he broke it, saying: 'By Allah! till to-day I have not seen a more mendacious arrow than this one' On that occasion Sohayl B. A'mru happened to pass by, and said: 'O father of Halymah, what has occurred that I see thee so angry?' Hereon Za'mah explained the matter, and Sohayl shouted: 'Let alone these words; for A'mru

B. Wohob has spoken similar ones to me, but I took no heed of them.' It is on record that when the Qoraish were about to march to Bedr, O'tbah and Shaybah brought forth their coats of mail from their houses, and were mending them, while A'dás looked on. Then O'tbah and Shaybah said: 'O A'das, askest thou nothing about the man to whom we sent grapes in the garden of Táif by thy hands?' A'dás said: 'Well, tell me.' They replied: 'We are going out to fight him.' Hereon A'dâs began to weep, and said: 'By God! Muhammad is the apostle of Allah, and it is not proper for you to wage war against him; for you only go to meet your own defeat.' He spoke these words, shedding tears of blood from his eyes. Biographers relate of Hakym B. Huzâm that he said: 'When I heard the above words of A'das, I again intended to retrace my steps, but possessed not the Divine grace and felicity to do so.' At that time A'ass B. Muniah B. Hajáj came to A'das, and asked for the reason of his weeping, whereon he replied: 'I weep because these two princes and denizens of this Wády are going to fight the apostle of Allah, and are hastening to the place of their own destruction.' Then A'ass questioned him whether Muhammad was the prophet of God. But this query made A'das tremble all over his body; he again wept, and said: 'I swear by Allah that Muhammad is the apostle of the Lord, and is sent to all mankind!' Hakym relates that, although A'ass professed the Faith, he nevertheless sided in the battle with the infidels until he was slain. Some have asserted that A'ass had not been present on the battle-field of Bedr, whereas others allege that he had gone there with O'tbah and Shaybah, and was killed. Waqidi says that the former assertion is more probable.

It is related that when the Qoraish had assembled and decided to go to Bedr, they were apprehensive of the enmity that subsisted between them and the Bani Kenânah, and said to each other: 'Possibly they will in our absence injure our families and property.' O'tbah, however, was more afraid than any other man. Meanwhile Satan appeared to the idolaters in the form of Soraqah B.

Mâlek, and spoke to them as follows: 'You are aware of the extent of my prowess, and of the greatness of my renown. I hereby make a treaty between my and your people, so that no evil will befall you from the Bani Kenânah.' O'tbah was gladdened by this promise, and the princes of the Qoraish being likewise pleased and comforted, they marched out with the greatest haste. Their army amounted to nine hundred and fifty combatants, with seven hundred camels and one hundred horses. All the cavalry and some of the infantry were dressed in coats of mail; they also took with them all the instruments and appurtenances of pleasure, and singing girls; the latter performing on musical instruments, singing near every water where a halt was made, and lengthening their tongues with reproaches against the professors of Islâm. Every day in turn a prince of the Qoraish provided the army with food, and biographers relate that there were nine of them in the expedition to Bedr, whilst others allege that their number amounted to thirteen; the majority of traditionalists, however, agree that A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, O'tbah B. Rabia'h, Ommyah B. Khuluf, Hakym B. Huzâm, Nassar B. Hâreth, Abu Jahl B. Heshâm, Sohayl B. A'mru, with Banitah and Munyah, the sons of Hajâj, were among the number of those who victualled the troops.

It is related that one day O'tbah and Shaybah lagged behind, and discussed with each other the dream of A'atikah, relating to each other their apprehensions about it. On that occasion Abu Jahl happened to meet them, and asked them what they were talking about, whereon the brothers informed them of their conversation. Then Abu Jahl exclaimed: 'I am astonished at the Bani A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who are not satisfied with trying to palm off their men upon us as prophets, but their women must forsooth also pretend to be prophetesses with reference to our affairs. But I swear by God, that when I return to Mekkah, I shall do this and that to them!' O'tbah, however, said: 'The tie of consanguinity and the nearness of

connection will be an obstacle.' Then one of the two brothers said to the other: 'If thou thinkest fit, we shall return to Mekkah.' Abu Jahl asked: 'Do you retreat after having agreed with your tribe? Do you want them to be defeated? Do you fancy that Muhammad and his companions will merely converse with us? Not at all! I have one hundred and eighty of my followers with me, who halt and march with me wherever I like. If you prefer to return, do so.' Hereon O'tbah and Shaybah said: 'Would to God thou hadst perished, and hadst destroyed thy adherents likewise!' Then O'tbah said to Shaybah: 'This [*i.e.*, Abu Jahl] is a wicked man. There is an intimacy and consanguinity between us and Muhammad, wherein he has no share. Moreover, my son Abu Khodayfah is with Muhammad. Let us act as Abu Jahl has suggested, and return.' Shaybah said to his brother: 'O Abu-l-wolyd [father of Wolyd], if we return at present, the blame of everybody and shame must fall upon us.' After these words they were obliged to march to the death-struggle, whether they were willing or not.

When the idolaters had arrived in Hajfah, Jahym B. Ssalt B. Mohramah B. Muttalleb B. Menâf had a dream, wherein he perceived a man riding on a horse, but having also a camel, who approached the camp of the Qoraish, and when he had come near it, he exclaimed: 'The names of O'tbah, of Shaybah, of Rabia'h B Alaswad, of Ommyah B. Khuluf, of Abu-l-bahri, of Abu-l-hukm B. Heshâm and of Naofil B Khowylad are marked in the decree of the eternal will.' Accordingly all of them were slain in the battle. Sohayl B. A'mru was made prisoner, and Hâreth escaped from his own brother, striking his camel with a knife [to hasten its speed], so that not a tent of the enemy remained which had not received the marks of its blood.

This [just-described] dream having been divulged, Abu Jahl was likewise informed thereof, and said: 'This is another prophet of the Bani Menaf. To-morrow it will appear whether we shall be slain or Muhammad and his companions.' The Qoraish also said to Jahym: 'The

devil has played thee a trick in thy sleep. To-morrow the result will be contrary to thy vision, for we shall capture the noblest of Muhammad's companions.' When O'tbah heard of what had taken place, he said to Shaybah: 'This dream agrees with that of A'atikah, and with the speech of A'dás, who has never told us a falsehood. What thinkest thou of our leaving this army and not attacking Muhammad? For if his claim to prophetship be false, there are Arabs enough to finish his business without our aid; but if it be true, we shall be the happiest of men.' Shaybah considered this to be an intelligent opinion, and agreed to return with his brother O'tbah. Meanwhile, Abu Jahl met and asked them about their intention; they said: 'We mean to return to Mekkah. Thinkest thou nothing of the dream of A'atikah, of Jahym B. Ssalt, and of what A'dâs said?' Abu Jahl disregarded what O'tbah and Shaybah had spoken, and so confused them that they again lost the true road and placed their feet into the wilderness of error and rebellion, agreed with the Qoraish to fight against his lordship the refuge of termination—u w. b.—and marched with them.

Wáqidi says that when Abu Sofyan had led the caravan out of danger, he sent Qays B. Amru-l-qays from the caravan to the Qoraish with the following message: 'The reason of the people's leaving the sanctuary [of Mekkah] was to prevent their goods being plundered, but as now Allah the Most High has granted safety to the caravan, it will be proper to return; nor will there be any occasion to attack Muhammad or the inhabitants of Yathreb [Madinah], because there is no need for it.' After Qays had travelled the required distance, he reached the unhallowed idolaters and delivered his message, but Abu Jahl replied: 'By Allah! we shall not return until we arrive in Bedr to halt there one night and one day, till we eat and drink and the singing women amuse us. If we act thus, our renown will spread among the tribes. They will think much of us, and after that none will have the boldness to oppose us.'

At Bedr there was a fair, in which the Arabs assembled

once a year, opened shops and traded with each other. When Qays saw that Abu Jahl refused to comply with the injunction of the [above] message, and that the people agreed with him to attack the professors of the religion, he immediately returned and informed Abu Sofyân that the people were going to Bedr, whereon the latter exclaimed: 'Woe to the people! This is the doing of A'mru B. Heshâm, *i.e.*, of Abu Jahl, who demurs to return on account of the authority he enjoys among the people; and this is blameworthy. By Allah! if Muhammad encounters our confederates he will humble them.' Despite of these words Abu Sofyân again departed from the sanctuary as soon as he had led the caravan safely into Mekkah, and then marched till he joined the army of the Qoraish. He was, however, wounded on the battle-field of Bedr, and said when he fled: 'I have never witnessed a more unfortunate affair than this. I swear by Allah that Ebnu-l-Khanttalah is an unhallowed man!' It is related that Akhnas B. Sharyq, who was the associate of the Bani Zohrah, said to the Mekkans when the caravan had safely returned: 'Allah the Most High has saved your caravan with all the property; abstain, therefore, from waging war against Muhammad, for he is your cousin. If he is a prophet you will be the happiest of men; but if he is not, other and more powerful men than you will be appointed to fight him.' Akhnas reiterated his advice, and continued: 'It will be best for you to give up your intention and not to act according to the advice of this man, who is surnamed the father of folly [Abu Jahl], for he is working for the destruction of his own people, and is making haste to bring it on.' The Bani Zohrah were still unwilling to accept his advice, and asked: 'Under what pretence are we to return?' Akhnas continued: 'As soon as the night sets in I shall throw myself from my camel, and you must exclaim, "He has been stung by a serpent," whereon the Qoraish will press you to march on, and you must not comply, but say: "We shall not abandon him until we know whether he is to live or to die."' By means of this

trick the Bani Zohrah actually returned to Mekkah, and when his holy and prophetic lordship arrived in Ruhâr, he said to his companions: 'This is the most excellent Arab Wâdy.' There he held his dormitory prayers, and after the last flexion he cursed the idolaters, pronouncing a malediction upon them. He specially singled out among them Abu Jahl, Za'mah B. Alaswad, Sohayl B. O'mru, and others of the Qoraish, saying: 'O Allah, punish Abu Jahl, who is the Pharaoh of this nation. O Allah, cause the tears of Abu Za'mah to flow, but deliver Sohayl,' etc. After completing his malediction of the infidels, he continued: 'O great God, deliver Solmah B. Heshâm, A'obâs B. Abu Rabia'h, and those who are weak in Islâm,' Solmah and Heshâm being kept prisoners in Mekkah by the idolaters.

It is related that one of the champions and valiant men of Yathreb, Habyb B. Yasâf by name, and another named Qays B. Mohrath, though both were idolaters, had, after the professors of Islâm marched out, followed and joined them. On that occasion his holy and prophetic lordship could not recognise Habyb, because he was dressed in a coat of mail, and his features were concealed by the visor of his helmet. Therefore his lordship asked Sa'd B. Moa'adh, who was riding along with those two warriors, whether this was not Habyb B. Yasâf? Sa'd replied: 'Yes, O apostle of Allah!' Accordingly Habyb approached and touched the waist of his lordship's camel. Thereon his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—made inquiries about him and about Ebn Mohrath, asking: 'What has made you come out?' He replied: 'Thou art the son of our neighbour's sister, and we have come out with our people to gain booty.' His lordship said: 'Let no man come out with us who is not of our religion.' Habyb replied: 'My agility, boldness, and valour are known to the people, and I shall in thy train fight thy enemies for the sake of plunder.' His lordship said: 'First profess Islâm and then fight.' And when they arrived in Ruhar, Habyb made haste to wait upon his lordship, and said: 'O apostle of Allah, I

believe in the Creator of the denizens of the world, and I testify that thou art a prophet, and a messenger of God.' His lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—was glad and rejoiced at Habyb's profession of Islam. Qays still remained an infidel, but was also ennobled by the religion when the professors of Islam returned to Madinah, and afterwards he attained martyrdom in the battle of Ohod.

When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—arrived in the Wâdy of Ssafara, it occurred to his illuminated mind that the princes of the Qoraish had come out of Mekkah, and that possibly this matter would end in a battle. Accordingly his lordship asked for the opinions of his friends in conformity with the verse 'And he consulted them in the affair,' exclaiming: 'What is to be done?' Ssiddiq [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] then rose, and delivered a suitable speech. After him Farûq [*i.e.*, O'mar] spoke, expressing analogous opinions, and saying: 'O apostle of Allah, I swear by God that thy opponents are the noblest of the Qoraish, who have never suffered a defeat. They will never believe thee until their vacillation between faith and unbelief ceases. Be, therefore, ready to fight them. His lordship being satisfied with the opinion of the two Sheikhs, invoked a blessing upon them. After that Abu Aswad Kandy rose, and said Act according to the command of God, and obey His orders, for we are with thee. I swear by Allah that we shall not say to thee, like the children of Esrayl to Mûsa, "Then go thou and thy lord, and fight ye two; we shall abide here"; but we shall say, "Then go thou and thy lord, and fight ye two, and we shall fight in your company." I swear by that God who has sent thee in truth to mankind that if thou leadest us to Barakatu-l-e'bâd [blessing of the servants], which is a town in Abyssinia, we shall accompany thee.' On that occasion Miqdâd was also exalted by the benediction of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b—and the latter asked: Will you march with me, O people?' The object of these words of the prophet—u. w. b.—was to ascertain the intention of the Anssar, because those noble individuals had in the

second covenant assured the apostle of Allah that they would protect him whenever he came to their houses, and on this occasion it occurred to his penetrating mind that they might perhaps refuse to aid him without the limits of Madinah. After his lordship had uttered the above words, Sa'd B. Moa'adh rose and said: 'I shall reply for the Anssâr; for I think, O apostle of Allah, that we are meant in this conversation.' His lordship replied affirmatively, and Sa'd continued: 'We have believed what thou hast said. We place faith in the words thou utterest, and what thou hast brought is true and real. We have made compacts and agreements with thee, and now

Hemistich · We keep the covenant we made with the friend!

Go wherever thou listest, O prophet of Allah, and I swear by that God who has in reality sent thee to mankind that if thou walkest into the sea we shall follow thee; nor will any one of us lag behind. Unite thyself with everyone thou likest, and separate thyself from whom thou listest. Take as much of our property as seemeth good to thee, and the more thereof thou spendest the more pleased shall we be. I swear by that God in whose power my life is that I have not selected [the way of] this world, and know not what way it is. By Allah! we shall not be displeased if we meet the enemy to-morrow, because we are able to endure the fatigues of war, and possibly by our means God the Most High and Glorious will manifest something that will rejoice thy heart.' His holy and prophetic lordship was pleased with the encouraging words of Sa'd, and marched to his destination.

Wâqidi says that when Sa'd had made an appropriate reply to the question of the apostle—u. w. b.—the latter said: 'March on; I give you in the name of God the Most High and Magnificent the glad tidings that He has promised to give me either the caravan of Abu Sofyân or the people of the Qoraish. By Allah! I think I see their wrestling.' When they halted near Bedr the prophet—u. w. b.—moved about with Qobâdah B. An-nu'man and

with Moa'adh B. Jabal to obtain some news regarding the enemy. While they were thus reconnoitring they met an old man, Sofyân Adzdzomayry by name, and asked him who he was. He replied: 'I am Sofyân. But tell me who you are.' His lordship said: 'Wilt thou give us news on condition that we likewise give some to thee?' He said: 'The one entails the other.' His lordship replied: 'Yes.' He continued: 'Ask whatever you like.' The lord of existences—u. w. b.—queried: 'What knowest thou about the Qoraish?' Sofyân replied: 'I heard that they have on such a day started from Mekkah, and if that be true they must to-day be in such and such a place.' He also named the place where the Qoraish had halted on that day. Then his lordship asked: 'What news hast thou about Muhammad and his friends?' He replied: 'I heard that they have left Madinah on such and such a day, and if that be true they must be to-day in such and such a place,' naming the locality where the professors of Islâm had halted that day. Then Sofyân asked: 'Now tell me where you come from?' His lordship replied: 'We are of water,' and as at that time the inhabitants of E'râq were known on account of the abundance of that element [in their country] and called the possessors of water, Sofyân imagined the party to be from E'râq. His lordship—u. w. b.—meant, however, by that expression that we are made of the water of sperm. After this conversation his lordship returned with his companions to their halting-place.

Wâqidi says that during the night of the seventeenth of the month Ramadzan his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—sent out A'li B. Abu Tâleb, Zobeir B. A'wwâm, and Sa'ad B. Woqqâss to the Wâdy of Bedr, in the company of several other friends, for the purpose of reconnoitring. He mentioned a locality, and said that he hoped they would obtain information near the well of it. A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—and his companions reached the well after traversing the necessary distance, and they met a number of camels drawing water, with a company of men who had come to take it. The latter, however, fled at their approach, and

they got hold of two slaves, one of whom was called Aslam and the other A'rydz; these they conveyed to the camp, but as his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—was at that time engaged in prayers, his companions asked the two prisoners: 'Who are you?' They replied: 'We are watering men of the Qoraish.' As these words displeased the companions, who wanted them to say that they belonged to Abu Sofyân, they struck the slaves, saying: 'You lie, for you are the slaves of Abu Sofyân.' The slaves disliked the beating, and [now] knowing what was required of them, they acknowledged that they were slaves of Abu Sofyân. When his lordship the refuge of prophecy —u. w. b.—had finished his prayers he turned his blessed face towards the companions, and said: 'They first spoke the truth, but you were beating them till they lied, and then you left them.' Thereon his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—looked at A'rydz and at Aslam, and asked: 'Where are the Qoraish?' They replied. 'They are in the rear of the sandhill which is in front of us.'

Wâqidi says: 'At the watering-place Ysâr, the freed man of Sa'yd B. Ala'ass, Aslam, the freed man of O'tbah-l-hajâj, and Abu Râqi, the freed man of Ommyah B. Khultûf, were captured. They were brought to the prophet—u. w. b. —but he was at prayers. Accordingly, the Musalmans asked them who they were, and they said: "We are the watermen of the Qoraish, and we have been sent by them to bring them water." The people, however, disliked this reply, and would have preferred if they had belonged to Abu Sofyân and to the people of a flock of camels. Therefore they struck them, and the men, being distressed, said: "We belong to Abu Sofyân, and we are of the herd of camels belonging to him." When they said this the people ceased to strike them. The apostle of Allah, having terminated his prayers, said: "When they contradict you, you strike them, and when they tell you falsehoods you leave them." Then his companions—b. u. th.—said: "O apostle of Allah, they are of the Qoraish, who have indeed arrived." Then he said: "Verily they have told you the

truth. The Qoraish have come over, and they have warned you of them."

'When his lordship had done speaking with his companions, he examined the slaves about the numbers of the Qoraish, and received the answer: "They are many." On his asking what their number amounted to, they were unable to tell. But to the question how many camels they slaughtered daily, they replied: "Sometimes nine, and sometimes ten per diem." Therefore he said: "They are less than one thousand, but more than nine hundred." On his inquiring what princes and nobles were present, they replied: "O'tbah, Shaybah, Hâreth B. A'amer, Abu-l-bahry, Hakym B. Alhuzâm, Ttolah B. A'dy, Nassar B. Alhâreth, Rabia'h Alaswad, Abu-l-hukm B. Heshâm,[256] Ommyah B. Khuluf, with Banitah and Munyah, the sons of Hajâj, Sohayl B. A'mru, and lastly A'mru B. A'bd [Menâf ?]." Thereon his lordship the apostle turned his blessed face to his friends, exclaiming: "Mekkah has sent forth its heart's blood against you.' He further asked whether any of that army had returned, and they answered: "Yes; A'li B. Sharyq, namely Akhnathah, has gone back with the Bani Zohrah." Hereon his lordship said: "He has directed them, but they were not directed." The apostle again asked: "Has anyone else returned besides them?" They said: "Yes, the Bani A'dy B. Ka'b have also returned." After that his lordship asked his intimate companions the following question: "Will you leave this halting place with me?" One of them, Habbâb B. Mundher, said: "O apostle of Allah, if thou hast halted in this place by the command of God the Most High, we have not the power to move one step further from it"—and that locality was in the vicinity of the first well of Bedr—"if thou hast, however, halted for the sake of a battle or a stratagem, we shall give our opinions." That prince replied: "For a battle and for a stratagem." Then Habbâb continued: "This station is unsuitable. We must leave it and alight at the last well, of the salubrity whereof I am aware. When we arrive

[256] See footnote 254 about this person.

there we must dig a tank and fill it with water, but the wells with earth, so as to procure water for ourselves, and deprive the enemy thereof." '

Ebn A'bbâs says: 'Meanwhile, Jebrâil descended and brought the revelation that Habbâb's opinion was correct. Accordingly the apostle of Allah issued orders to march from that locality, and to follow the advice of Habbâb.'

Wâqidi narrates a tradition that, as soon as the slaves of the Qoraish came to draw water, they were captured, and that a number of other men who were with them fled. One of the latter, whose name was O'mar, first reached the army of the Qoraish, and raised the cry: 'O family of Ghâleb, the son of Abu Kabshah,[256] with his companions, has arrived, and captured the slaves who were sent to bring water.' These words caused fear and confusion among the Qoraish, and Hakym B. Huzám says: 'I was sitting in a tent with some men and roasting flesh, when we heard this news, and the apprehension caused thereby hindered us from eating our food. I went out from my tent to unburthen the grief of my heart to some friend, when suddenly O'tbah B. Rabya'h met me, saying: "O Abu-l-khâled, I have never witnessed an expedition more strange than this one. Our caravan is saved, but we have gone into the country of a people whom we are bound to fight from [our] insolence." I replied: "He has nothing to say who is not obeyed. This adventure is to be ascribed to Ebnu-l-Khanttalah's caprice." O'tbah then continued: "O Abu Khâled, fearest thou not that Muhammad with his companions will attack us this night?" I replied: "Fear naught; thou art safe of that." O'tbah queried: "O Abu Khâled, what is the remedy?" I replied: "A watch must be kept to-night till daybreak." O'tbah said: "By Allah! that is the thing to guard us!" When Abu Jahl heard these words, he said: "O'tbah dislikes to fight

[256] This is the correct spelling, instead of *Abu Kayshah*, which occurred before. Muhammad is here called the son of the father of Kabshah, hence his father's name, which was A'bdullah, is supplanted by a disrespectful appellation, and he himself is called Kabshah. See footnote 232.

Muhammad and his companions." Then, turning his unhallowed face towards the people, he said: "It is strange of you to suppose that Muhammad and his confederates can attack and injure you all. I swear by Allah that they are unable to pass through any part of the people [without being observed, and therefore] to-night no one is to watch or to guard us."'

It is related that during the said night, when the professors of Islam arrived near Bedr, they halted in a sandy plain, where they sank into the ground up to their knees, and were overpowered by sleep. There being a great distance between them and the water, the accursed Satan instilled into their hearts the thought that although they were in the company of the prophet, and had been promised victory, they had fallen into the greater and into the lesser defilement;[257] accordingly they refrained from holding their prayers, and all the professors of Islâm were much afraid. Suddenly, however, abundant rain began to pour down from the clouds of mercy; the Musalmâns then performed their religious ablution, and drank. They were also delivered of their fears; the ground became so firm that they were able to walk on it steadily, whereas the camp of the infidels was full of mud and dirt. The blessed verse, 'When a sleep fell on you as a security from Him, and He sent down upon you water from heaven that He might thereby purify you, and take from you the abomination of Satan, and that He might confirm your hearts, and establish your feet thereby,'[258] explains the circumstances of the professors of Islâm [on the above occasion].

It is said that after the slave water-men had been captured, his lordship the refuge of prophecy despatched in the same night A'mmâr B. Yâser and A'bdullah B. Masu'd as scouts to the army of the idolaters and the obstinate. They accordingly made a reconnaissance, and spoke on their return as follows: 'O apostle of Allah, we

[257] In such a state of pollution no Musalmân would dare to say his prayers, because thereby they become sinful.

[258] Qurân, ch viii. 11.

have found the opponents of the religion in great trepidation and fear, because whenever their horses began to neigh they whipped them to make them leave off.'

When it was morning, Munyah B. Hajâj, who was very acute in judging footsteps, perceived those of the above-named blessed two individuals, and exclaimed: 'By Allah! this is the footmark[250] of Ebn Sommyah—i.e., A'mmâr B. Yaser—and Muhammad has come to attack us with the foolish Qoraish from Yathreb.' He also said: 'Famine has left us nothing. He must either himself die or kill us.' Further, he continued: 'O ye Qoraish people, when you encounter Muhammad with his companions, slay the inhabitants of Yathreb, but spare the young men of your nation, and destroy them not, so that we may convey them all to Mekkah in chains and collars, to warn the people by their chastisement, and that hereafter no one may abandon the religion of his fathers.'

When his holy and prophetic lordship halted at the last well of Bedr, where the battle [afterwards] took place, he laid his blessed finger on the ground, marking the spot of everyone of the infidels who were to be slain on the day of the fight in such a manner that no difference occurred, and every man was killed on the spot where he had fallen.

It is related that before the two armies had approached each other, and had arranged themselves in lines, Sa'd B. Moa'adh exclaimed: 'O apostle of Allah, we shall prepare a throne for thee, and have thy camels ready near it, and shall fight. If we conquer the enemy all will be right, but if the contrary takes place, do thou mount a steed, and flee to those of our friends who have remained behind in Madinah; for they are not less faithful and attached to thee than we are. Indeed, if they had known that this affair would terminate in a battle, they would not have

[250] The Arabs of the desert are in this respect as intelligent as the North American Indians, and the translator has been assured that even a boy is able to distinguish whether his father's camel has passed on a spot among a number of others, and whether his father accompanied it or not.

lagged behind, but would have waited upon thee.' His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—approved of the advice of Sa'd, and uttered a benediction upon him. Then the companions prepared a stage. Meanwhile the opponents of the religion had made their appearance, and in front of them all Zama'h B. Alaswad riding on his horse, which capered, his son following him.

Wâqidi says: 'When the eye of his lordship the prophet alighted upon the Qoraish, he said: "O Lord, Thou art worthy of adoration, hast in truth sent me a book, hast ordered me to fight, and hast promised me one of the two companies.[200] Thou wilt not act against Thy promise. Again, O God, the Qoraish have come in their insolence and pride to wage war against Thee, and to accuse Thy apostle of falsehood. O my God, I wait for the aid Thou hast promised me."' When his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—saw O'tbah B. Rabyah approaching on a camel, he exclaimed: 'If there be good in any one of the people, it is in the possessor of the red camel. If they obey him, they will be well directed.' In some books, however, the phrase stands thus: 'If there is good with any man of the people, it is with the owner of the camel.'

Wâqidi relates of Khulâf B. Aa'ya B. Ruhdzah that he said. 'My father had sent me with a present of ten camels to the Qoraish, enjoining me to say that, if they desired, he would aid them with arms and with soldiers, and that he would not refuse even to accompany them to the battle; that, however, if we are to fight against God, as Muhammad alleges, we have not the power to do so. When I delivered to the Qoraish this message with the camels, they divided the latter amongst themselves. As my father, however, loved nothing more than peace, he followed me, and having met O'tbah B. Raby'ah, who was very anxious to make arrangements for peace, he asked him: "O Abu-l-wolyd, what is the reason of all this contention and enmity?" O'tbah replied: "I do not know; and I swear

[200] As already mentioned above, either the caravan or Abu Sofyân with his people.

by Allah that we are going to be defeated!" My father then continued: "Thou art a prince of the people. Make peace concerning thy [slain] confederate A'mru B. Alkhadzramy, renounce what the companions of Muhammad have taken in the Battan of Nakhlah, and cause the Qoraish to return, because there is no other reason to wage war against Muhammad except this. By Allah! to fight against him, and against his companions, is like fighting against our own souls!" But O'tbah was unsuccessful, despite all his efforts to bring about peace.'

Wâqidi says that Muhammad B. Jobayr B. Motta'm relates: 'When the two opposing armies stood in front of each other, his lordship the apostle despatched O'mar to the Qoraish with the following message: "Return ye; for I would fight against any other people rather than against you" When Hakym B. Huzâm had understood the contents of the message, he said: "O Qoraish people, Muhammad has spoken justly Accept his advice, and do not fight him." But Abu Jahl demurred to this opinion, saying: "By Allah, we shall not return! As He has given us the power and strength, we must take revenge upon this people, so as to prevent them for ever afterwards attacking our caravans."'

It is related that the company of the idolaters approached the tank of the Musalmâns, which had been dug by the advice of Habbâb B. Almundher, to drink water therefrom. Some Moslems desired to converse with them, but his lordship said: 'Leave them alone!' The narrator states that whoever drank of that water had [afterwards] either been killed in the battle by the Musalmâns or captured; excepting only Hakym B. Huzâm, who mounted his horse, fled, and saved his life from destruction.

Sa'yd B. Musayyib says that on the occasion when the apostle of Allah left his house at Mekkah with the intention to flee, and the unbelievers were lying in wait at the sacred gate thereof, his lordship was reciting the Surah *Ya Sin*.[261] He threw some dust at their heads, and all

[261] This chapter, called Y.S. by European translators, is the thirty-sixth of the Qurân.

whose heads the dust touched were slain, except Hakym B. Huzâm, who escaped, and is said afterwards always to have sworn by the God who had saved him in the battle of Bedr

It is related that Aswad B. A'bdu-l-asad Makhzûmi, an idolater, had made an oath that he would first drink water from the tank of the Musalmâns, and then destroy it. Accordingly, he left the ranks of the unbelievers and approached the reservoir, whereon Hamzah, the prince of martyrs, issued from among the professors of Islâm with a drawn sword, wounding therewith the legs of Aswad; the latter, nevertheless, crawled on his breast and sides to the tank to fulfil his vow; then Hamzah followed him up, and sent that accursed one to the fire of hell near the tank itself. When the Qoraish were taking rest in their camp, they despatched A'mru B. Wohob to reconnoitre the army of Islâm. Accordingly, he mounted his horse, examined the troops of the professors of the orthodox religion, returned to his people, and said: 'They amount, more or less, to three hundred men, but give me time to spy them out properly, for there may possibly be some ambuscades.' Then he rode about in the plain, but, discovering no one, he returned to his camp, and said: 'I have found no ambush, but, O ye Qoraish, I have seen the camels of the companions of Muhammad which are the harbingers of death. I have beheld the she-camels of Yathreb which bear the seal of destruction. I have seen men who have no other protection than their sabres. They are all dumb as if they had no tongues, and they appeared to me to resemble vipers protruding their fangs [ready to sting]. I swear by Allah that I think for every one of them one of yourselves will be slain. But, after such numbers are destroyed, what pleasure will the remnant of yourselves enjoy in life?' Hearing statements of this kind uttered by A'mru B. Wohob, Hakym B. Huzâm went to O'tbah, and said: 'O'tbah, thou art great and obeyed by the Qoraish; art thou able to perform an act the remembrance whereof will uphold thy good name till the end of the world?'

O'tbah queried: 'What is that?' Hakym continued: 'My advice is that thou stand security for the expiatory penalty [for the companions of Muhammad who took the life] of A'mru B. Alkhadzramy, and for everything lost from the caravan in the Battan of Nakhlah, and send back the army; because there is no other cause for quarrelling with Muhammad.' O'tbah complied with the request of Hakym, mounted a camel, entered the camp, and spoke as follows: 'O people, attend to what I say, and do not fight Muhammad with his associates, because some of them are very closely related to us; and if you fight them, enmity with contentions will for ever subsist between you, their friends, relatives, children and descendants. Moreover, I think that the companions of Muhammad cannot be slain unless an equal number of yourselves perish, and I am apprehensive that they will inflict injuries upon you which will be difficult to repair.

Distich. God has produced vales and mountains,
Has created some men stronger than others.

'I know you desire only blood retaliation for him who was killed, and [to recover] the portion of the goods taken from your caravan in the Battan of Nakhlah. I take it upon myself to pay the expiatory mulct [*i.e.*, blood ransom] for the murder of A'mru B. Alkhadzramy, and to restore to you the equivalent of the property taken from you on that occasion. If Muhammad be a liar it will be proper for you not to interfere, and to leave to others the task of chastising him. If, however, he be a king, you, as his cousins, ought to rejoice at his royalty, and to share the advantages thereof. If he is a prophet, you will be the most fortunate nation by abstaining from endeavours to injure him. Accept my advice, and reject not my opinion. Allow not your countenances, which shine like burning lamps, by demurring to this counsel, to resemble those of wild beasts.' When Abu Jahl heard these words envy overpowered him, and he said to himself: 'If the people approve of his opinion and return, the government and

everything connected therewith will devolve upon him, so that other men will no longer enjoy any authority. He further vented his malice, saying: 'O'tbah speaks in this manner, because his son is in the service of his uncle's son Muhammad, and he is naturally unwilling to see either his son or his cousin killed.' Then he turned to O'tbah, accused him of cowardice, and said: 'Lo! thou workest to humble us, and predictest a famine to the nation but I swear by God that we shall not return until the Most High has delivered judgment between us and Muhammad.' O'tbah, getting incensed at the words of Abu Jahl, lengthened towards him the tongue of insult and reproof, saying: 'Thou art very unwilling to ascertain who of us two is more cowardly or mean, but thou wilt soon know who is the Omnipotent Avenger!'

In some biographical works it is recorded that when Hakym B. Huzâm requested O'tbah to take upon himself the expiatory mulct for the death of A'mru B. Alkhadzramy, and to turn the army back, O'tbah said, after giving assent to his opinion: 'O Hakym, go to Ebnu-l-Hanttalah, inform him of my intention, and make him agree in this matter.' Hakym said: 'By the advice of O'tbah I went to Abu Jahl and told him that according to the opinion of the former the army was to be sent back, and Muhammad not to be attacked. Abu Jahl, however, replied: "Has O'tbah not found another messenger to send but thee?" When I heard these words I quickly returned to the place of O'tbah, who was reclining, and sending ten of his own camels to the idolaters for slaughter. Abu Jahl closely followed me, his unhallowed appearance *manifesting signs of wrath*, and when he arrived he said to O'tbah: "Are thy lungs full of wind?" Which words are usually applied to persons notorious for their cowardice and pusillanimity, but O'tbah replied: "O thou who makest thy face yellow, insultest thou me?"' According to the majority of biographers, O'tbah alluded by these words to Abu Jahl's habit of dying a certain spot on his body with saffron, to conceal a mark of leprosy which he had there, and the latter was so

incensed by this hint that he drew his sword, but struck therewith only the back of his own horse. Aymâ B. Ruhdzah then said: This is an evil omen!'

It is recorded in some books that Hakym B. Huzám said: 'When I requested O'tbah to return to Mekkah, and also to send the army there, he replied: "Ebn Hanttalah will contradict us in this matter, and we must devise a stratagem to gain him over to our opinion." Accordingly he sent me to Abu Jahl with the message that he would give security for the blood-ransom of A'mru B. Alkhadzramy, and for the property taken from the caravan, and that it would be proper not to attack Muhammad with his companions, but to return to Mekkah. When I reached the place of Abu Jahl, I saw him arranging his coat of mail for battle, and when I delivered my message he exclaimed angrily: "Could O'tbah find no one but thee to send this message to me?" I replied: "I swear by God that, if he had appointed another, I would not have come to thee; but I complied with his invitation for the good of the people and by the injunction of Abu-l-wolyd, who is a prince in the nation and a chief of the tribe." At these words Abu Jahl's anger increased, and he exclaimed: "Callest thou O'tbah a prince, a leader of the clan and of the tribe?" I replied: "All the Qoraish are of my opinion in this matter." Hereon Abu Jahl became pensive, grieved, and sent a person to A'amer B Alkhadzramy with the following message: "I want to avenge the murder of thy brother, but O'tbah, who is thy ally, does not permit me to do it, and intends to send back the army. Therefore it is time for thee to arise, to lament, to raise shouts to heaven on account of thy brother's death, and to demand aid of the people to succour thee in this matter." A'amer then bared his head by the advice of that desperate individual, and walked about the camp, shouting: "Alas for A'mru!" till he succeeded in kindling the flames of slaughter." '

Hakym said: When Abu Jahl had despatched his messenger to A'amer, he asserted that as O'tbah's sense of taste had been spoiled by famine, it would be necessary

to administer Sawyq[262] to him. The Qoraish applauded this opinion, and he rejoiced greatly at their approbation. I, however, returned and informed O'tbah of what was going on. He likewise became very angry and roamed through the camp, and though he dissuaded the idolaters much from fighting, he met with no success.'

It is related that in the camp of the professors of Islâm there were three banners, namely one of the Mohâjer and two of the Anssâr. The lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—bestowed the standard of the companions of the flight upon Mossa'b B. O'mayr, that of the Khazraj upon Habbâb B. Almundher, and that of the Awus upon Sa'd B. Mo'adh. He appointed the war-cry of the Mohâjer to be 'O ye Bani A'bdullah!' and that of the Awus to be 'O ye Bani O'baydullah!' Some relate that his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—ordered the war-cry of all his companions to be 'O aided by the nation!' By war-cries those exclamations are meant by which those who are fighting together discern themselves from their foes, and it is believed that the phrase 'O aided by the nation!' implies the meaning 'O promised warrior, slay thy foe!'

The idolaters likewise had three banners, one of which was borne by Ttolhah B. Abu Ttolhah, the other by Abu Ghazyr B. O'mayr, and the third by Nassar B. Alhâreth, all of whom were descendants of A'bdu-d-dâr B. Qossay. When both armies were intent upon [fighting] a battle, his holy and prophetic lordship took a stick into his blessed hand, and was engaged in equalizing the ranks. At that time his august vision alighted upon Sowâd B. O'ryah, who had advanced several steps out of the line and stood there. He struck Sowâd on his bare breast, saying: Sowâd, fall

[262] *Sawyq* is the roasted meal of wheat or barley, and Dr. A. Sprenger in his 'Life of Muhammad' describes it more at length, as follows: 'Man weicht Weizen oder Gerste in Wasser ein oder Kocht sie bis die Körner schwellen, dann rostet man sie und mahlt sie zu grobem Mehl, diess nennt man Sawyq. Es wird auf bewahrt bis man es nöthig hat. Man benutzt es besonders auf Reisen. Ehe man es geniesst, feuchtet man es mit Wasser oder Butter, mit oder ohne Honig an. und deswegen sagt man Sawyq trinken.'

back!' But the latter exclaimed: 'The blow of thy stick causes me pain and suffering. Allah the Most High and Glorious has sent thee in truth. Now give me satisfaction.' His lordship immediately bared his own breast, saying: 'Retaliate.' Sowâd thereon placed the face of supplication upon the bosom of that prince, and was exalted by being allowed to kiss it. His lordship asked: 'Why hast thou done this?' And he replied: 'At present I am not sure whether I shall not be killed; therefore I was desirous to touch thy hallowed breast on the last day of my life.' Hereon his lordship pronounced a benediction upon him, and said to his companions: 'Draw not your swords without my permission, neither attack the infidels; but when they approach you, pour upon them a rain of arrows, being careful in shooting them, and not expending them all.' When the lines had been straightened his lordship retired with Ssiddiq into the bower, Sa'd B. Moa'adh being, with a detachment of Anssâr, appointed to guard and to watch over his lordship the apostle of Allah.

It is related that when his lordship entered the shelter, he turned the face of petition towards the courts of the protection of the Almighty, raised his hands in prayer, and exclaimed thrice: 'O adorable Lord, fulfil Thy promise!' Then he exclaimed: 'If this cohort of professors of Islâm be destroyed, Thou wilt never be worshipped on earth!' It is said that his lordship the refuge of termination was so fervent in prayer that his Redâ [wrapper] fell from his blessed back, which Ssiddíq took up, replaced, and, embracing that prince's arms, said: 'That is sufficient what thou hast asked from God, and the most glorious Lord will soon fulfil His promise.' Some relate that his lordship raised his hands in prayer, and said: 'O God, if Thou causest the idolaters to prevail over this company, Thy religion will not subsist!' and that Ssiddiq [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] exclaimed: 'O apostle of God, I swear by God that the Most High will grant thee victory; and conquest will make thy face white.' There is a tradition that the Living One who never sleeps sent a light slumber upon his favourite

when he was in the arbour, but that Ssiddiq awoke his lordship, saying. 'O apostle of Allah, the idolaters have arrived near us, and that during the said slumber the Lord Most High had caused the idolaters to appear very few in the sight of his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—and when he awoke from sleep he said: 'O Abu Bakr, the aid of God the Most High has arrived. For, behold, Jebrâil has come, has grasped the reins of his horse, and dust has settled thereon.' Then he left the arbour, encouraged the professors of Islâm to fight against the idol-worshippers, and said: 'Whoever slays an idolater may claim his plunder. I swear by that God in whose grasp the life of Muhammad is, that there is no man who, while fighting them and coveting the favour and reward of God the Most High, flees not, and is slain by them who will not go to the paradise of eternity.' On this occasion O'mayr B. Alhamâm was eating dates, and when he heard these words he exclaimed: 'Bah, bah! I must only be killed to go to paradise!' Accordingly, he threw away the rest of the dates he had in his hand, snatched up his sword, and fought the opponents of the religion till he was slain, and departed to the gardens of paradise. It is related that when the two armies met Abu Jahl said: 'O Lord, destroy every one of us who most despises the ties of consanguinity and embarks in a business the upshot whereof no one knows.' Thus he uttered his malediction in reality against his own self:

Distich: No foe does to another
What a fool does to himself.

All biographers agree that the idolaters who first stepped into the field of bravery and championship were O'tbah B. Raby'ah, with his brother Shaybah and his son Wolyd. The reason of this forwardness was that O'tbah had been incensed by Abu Jahl's reproaches of cowardice and pusillanimity, and had therefore set his heart on fighting. He donned a coat of mail, but being unable to find a helmet for his big head, he contented himself with a turban, and

sallied forth to the battle on foot with his brother and son, despite of Hakym B. Huzam's pressing advice to the contrary. Meanwhile the eye of O'tbah alighted on Abu Jahl, who was sitting in battle array on a fleet horse. O'tbah in the exuberance of anger drew his sword, followed him, and exclaimed: 'This day is not a day of riding; for many of thy people are on foot.' Then Abu Jahl sprang from his saddle to the ground.

Wâqidi says, that when O'tbah, Shaybah, and Wolyd entered the battle-ground and shouted for champions, Ma'adh, Masu'd, and A'wuf came forth from among the professors of Islâm for the purpose of fighting. Others, however, mention A'bdullah B. Ruâhah in lieu of Ma'adh. On the other hand, some transcribers of biographies assert that his holy and prophetic lordship considered it improper that the Anssâr should fight in the very first encounter with the unbelievers, and destined that honour for his own cousins and relatives. He accordingly ordered the [above-named] Anssâr youths to withdraw, although he praised their readiness. All the writers of ancient histories narrate, however, that when A'wuf, Masu'd, and A'bdullah .B. Ruâhah stepped forward to meet O'tbah, Shaybah and Wolyd. the idolaters asked them, 'Who are you?' Whereon they gave their names, and said that they were Anssâr. Then the idolaters replied: 'We have nothing to do with you. We ask for our relatives.' · Accordingly the Musalmans returned, and one of the three idolaters continued: 'O Muhammad, send us our equals to fight against us.' Hereon the lord of existences appointed Hamzah, A'li—u. w. b.—and O'baydah B. Alhâreth to fight the unbelievers. When these three champions stepped into the lists, O'tbah asked Hamzah: 'Who art thou?' The latter replied: 'I am Hamzah, the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb. I am the lion of God, and the lion of the apostle of God!' Hereon O'tbah likewise boasted of himself, but added: 'Thou art my peer,' and further inquired: 'Who are those two men with thee?' And Hamzah replied: 'One is A'li, the son of Abu Tâleb, and the other O'baydah, the son of

Alhâreth son of Muttalleb son of A'bd Menâf.' And O'tbah exclaimed: 'They are our noble peers.'

Wâqidi says that after the just-mentioned parley between O'tbah and Hamzah had terminated, Wolyd fought, at a sign of his father O'tbah, with A'li, O'tbah against Hamzah, and Shaybah against O'baydah. A'li B. Abu Tâleb prostrated Wolyd with one blow of his sword, Hamzah despatched O'tbah with his gory sabre to the infernal regions, but Shaybah inflicted such a wound on the leg of O'baydah B. Alhâreth that he fell to the ground, and the marrow of his shin-bone commenced to ooze out; Hamzah, however, and A'li ran to his assistance, and after slaying the antagonist bore him from the scene of the contest to the presence of the lord of apostleship, to whom O'baydah said: 'I am not a martyr.' But the former replied: 'Indeed thou art one;' and after returning from the Ghaza of Bedr he departed to the gardens of paradise either at Ruhâr or in Wâdy Ssaghir, where he was also buried. It is related that the verse 'These two enemies fought against each other concerning their lord' was revealed with reference to the above six individuals. Others, again, assert that Murtadza A'li fought with Shaybah and killed him, and that O'baydah encountered Wolyd, and was wounded by him. Some narrate that A'li B. Abu Tâleb killed O'tbah, and that Shaybah was slain by Hamzah, but Allah knows best.

In short, when the three unbelievers had departed to hell, the Banu Hazûm assembled, taking Abu Jahl into their midst, and from the multitude of their lances one might have fancied that he was standing among trees. By unanimous consent they divested Abu Jahl of his cuirass, and gave it to A'bdullah B. Almundher to put on, so that when the latter stepped forward A'li—u. w. b.—mistook him for Abu Jahl, went towards him, and said: 'Receive this attack;' but having broken his sharply-pointed sword [on the cuirass], he turned away to the other side. After that the people caused Abuqbys to don the same coat of mail, whom Hamzah likewise mistook for Abu Jahl, but

killed him. Then the idolaters instigated Harmalah B. A'mru to put on the cuirass, and he was likewise despatched to the abode of perdition by the lion of reiteration [i.e., by A'li]. However much the Banu Mahzûm afterwards endeavoured to persuade Khâled B. Ala'lm to dress himself in the ill-fated coat of mail, they were unable to prevail upon him to do so.

In most chronicles of biographies it is related concerning A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf that he said: 'On the day of Bedr I stood in the ranks between two Anssâr youths, and was thinking that I ought to have taken a position between two experienced individuals who had seen the ups and downs of the world, when one of the just-mentioned youths pulled my robe and asked in a whisper: "Uncle, knowest thou Abu Jahl?" I rejoined: "What business hast thou with him?" He continued: "I have heard that he tried to injure the apostle of God—u. w. b.—and has stretched out his unhallowed tongue to execrate his lordship. I swear by God, in whose power my soul is, that if I catch a glimpse of Abu Jahl I shall not separate from him until one of us is killed." When this young man had done speaking, the other, who was at my left, held the same language, whereby I was comforted and encouraged by their boldness and temerity. A short while afterwards I perceived Abu Jahl capering about on the battlefield. He was mounted on a camel. I pointed towards him, and said: "This is the man you want" Accordingly those two youths flew like falcons towards Abu Jahl, and slashed with their fire-dropping sabres at the legs of the camel, so that it fell, and they threw Abu Jahl down from it. Those two youths were Ma'adh and Ma'wudh, called sometimes, after their father, the sons of Hâreth, and at others, after their mother, the sons of Ghufrân.' It is related of Ma'adh that he said: 'On the day of Bedr I inflicted a wound upon Abu Jahl's leg so as to sever it from his body, whereon his son, A'kramah, overtook me, and gave me such a blow with his sword as to cut off my arm, so that it dangled from my body only by the piece of skin which the sabre

had not cut through. I nevertheless continued to fight in that state until I was much exhausted; then I held the disabled arm steady with my foot, and separated it from my body.' It is said that Ma'wudh, the brother of Ma'adh, inflicted another wound upon Abu Jahl, and sent him close to the confines of non-existence. Both brothers went to the prophet and related to him—u. w. b.—how they had killed that accursed individual. His lordship asked: 'Which of you two has killed him?' Each of them, however, attributed the deed to his own prowess. His lordship further queried: 'Have you cleaned your swords?' They said: 'No.' Then his lordship the apostle said, looking at them: 'You have both killed him.' He nevertheless bestowed the accoutrements of Abu Jahl upon Ma'adh, whose brother, Ma'wudh, then again returned to the battle and fought till he attained martyrdom. Ma'adh, however, lived, in spite of his wound, till the Khalifate of O'thmân B. O'ffân.

In some biographical works it is recorded that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—sent a messenger to A'kramah B. Abu Jahl to ask him who had slain his father, and received the answer: 'He whom I have wounded,' whereon his lordship conferred the plunder of Abu Jahl upon Ma'adh. Wâqidi says the most correct account is that Ma'adh B. Amru B. Al-jumu', whose hand was cut off by A'kramah, and who survived with one arm till the time of the Khalifate of Dhu-n-nuryn [*i.e.*, endowed with two lights] had slain Abu Jahl. Wâqidi also narrates that the apostle—u. w. b.—stood where the son of Ghufrân had fallen, and said: 'May God the Most High have mercy on the sons of Ghufrân, because they are partners in the death of the Pharaoh of this nation and the chief Emâm of unbelief!' His lordship being asked, 'Who else was their associate in that matter?' he replied: 'Angels were their associates, but Ma'wudh hastened to finish the wounded man, and they became partners in killing him.' The writer of these lines, however, says that in the statement of Wâqidi there appears to be some imperfection—but

the knowledge is with God—because the laudable efforts of Ebn A'bbâs to kill the Pharaoh of this nation took place after the battle of Bedr; but, in order not to interrupt the context, the death of Àbu Jahl has been recorded first, and after that the descent of the angels and the defeat of the idolaters will be narrated.

It is related that on the day of Bedr, after the idolaters had fled, the apostle asked: 'Who will go and see what has become of Abu Jahl?' Ebn Masu'd responded to the call by immediately walking off to the slain, among whom he discovered Abu Jahl in a miserable plight, wounded, but still alive. As he had suffered much from him in Mekkah, he sat down on his breast, took hold of his beard, and said: 'Abu Jahl, thou art in this state. God the Most High has humbled thee, O enemy of Allah.' Abu Jahl replied: 'Nothing more is the matter than that a man has been killed by his people.' According to another tradition Ebn Masu'd said: 'Abu Jahl, I am thy murderer.' The latter replied: 'Thou art not the first servant who has killed his lord.' There is also a legend that Abu Jahl said: 'How would it be if another than a cultivator [peasant] had slain me?'—these words being intended as an insult to the Anssâr because they were agriculturists. Others allege that his unhallowed tongue uttered the words: 'I wish one of the Khulûf or of the Muttaman had killed me.' But the explanations about these two sects are recorded in detailed works. When A'bdullah B. Masu'd sat down upon his breast he placed, according to another tradition, his foot upon the neck of the luckless Abu Jahl, and that accursed one said: 'Shepherd, thou hast stepped on a high place. Tell me now who is victorious?' Ebn Masu'd replied: 'O enemy of God and of the apostle'—and according to some biographies he also said: 'Thou art worse than Pharaoh, because, while he was being drowned, he confessed his iniquity, and thereby has given [a sign of his sense of] justice, whereas thou persistest in thy present state in thy heresy and error.' In the *Seri Kâzrâni* it is recorded that, according to a certain tradition, A'bdullah

B. Masu'd had spoken as follows: 'On the day of Bedr I approached Abu Jahl, and perceived that he had no feet, but was still grasping a sword, wherewith he warded off the people from himself. I exclaimed: "O enemy of God, praise be to Allah for having humbled thee!" He replied: "I am a man who has been killed by his own people." I stopped, however, and struck him with my sword until I cut off his hand. Then I took up his own sabre, and therewith severed his head from his body. I carried his head to the lord of apostleship, but it was so heavy that it seemed to me as if I were pulling it out from the ground.' It is also related that A'bdullah said: 'I struck Abu Jahl much with my sabre, but it took no effect. At last I amputated his head with his own sword, and dragged it into the august presence of the prophet—u. w. b.—where I threw it down, saying: "O apostle of God, this is the head of Abu Jahl." He exclaimed: "Is it his, by Allah?" I said: "I swear by God that it is his own." Then his holy and prophetic lordship—u w. b—arose, stepped on the head, looked at it awhile, and said: "Praise be to Allah! who has slain thee?" adding: "That man was the Pharaoh of his nation."' There is also a tradition that after beholding the head of that accursed individual, his holy and prophetic lordship recited orisons with two prayer-flexions; but according to another tradition he made 'the prostration of gratitude' when he saw the head of that accursed man.

His Lordship the Apostle leaves the Shelter, and throws Gravel upon the Infidels.

It is related that when his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—came out from the shelter,[263] he took up a handful of gravel, projected it towards the infidels, and exclaimed. 'The countenances are deformed.'[264] According to another tradition, he said before throwing the gravel:

[263] This was a kind of arbour, called a stage on the first occasion it was mentioned by the author.

[264] Meaning: 'You will be humbled.'

'They will all flee and turn their backs,' and then he encouraged his companions to fight. Hakym B. Huzâm says: 'On the day of Bedr I heard a sound descending from the sky, resembling the sound of pebbles falling into a dish, which happened when the apostle—u. w. b.—was throwing the gravel towards us; and after that we were put to flight.' It is related that Moa'wiah Kanâny said: 'On that day I heard in my rear a sound as of gravel falling into a plate, by which we were all frightened, and the verse "Neither didst thou, O Muhammad, cast [the gravel] when thou didst [seem to] cast it"[265] was revealed on that occasion.'

There is a tradition of Murtadza A'li—u. w. b.—that he said: 'I went thrice from the battle-field to the shelter, to see the prince of the world—u. w. b.—but found him each time engaged in adoration, exclaiming: "O ever-living Eternal One, I implore succour from Thy mercy." And after the third time Allah the Most High granted us victory.' It is likewise related of his lordship A'li—u. w. b. —the Commander of the Faithful, that he said on the day of Bedr: 'A wind commenced to blow, the like of which in violence I had never witnessed before. Afterwards there was another gust, and then a third With the first Jebrâil, with the second Mykâyl, and with the third Asrafyl arrived, each of them leading one thousand angels.' There is further a tradition that Ebn A'bbâs said: 'When the army stood in battle array, his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.— entered the shelter and slumbered awhile. When he awoke he gave to the Musalmâns the glad tidings that Jebrail was with a company of angels standing on the right flank of the army, Mykâyl with a number of celestial spirits on the left, and Asrafyl with a multitude in front of the troops.

On that day Satan assumed the form of Soraqah B. Mâlek, and said to the Qoraish: 'Nobody will defeat you.' When, however, that accursed one beheld the angels, he turned his back upon the infidels, and said: 'I am free of

[265] Qurân, ch. viii. 17.

you, for I see something which you do not see.' Hâreth, who took him to be really Sorâqah, attacked him, but Satan gave him such a blow on the breast that he fell to the ground, and after that himself fled into the sea. When this strange scene was taking place, Abu Jahl invited the people to fight, and said: 'O ye Qoraish, let not the words and the imbecility of Sorâqah deceive you; for he is connected with Muhammad and his companions, and when we return to Ghadyr,[200] Sorâqah will see what we shall do to his people. Be not dismayed at the death of Shaybah, O'tbah, and Wolyd, they having been self-opinioned and forward to fight; they had also sworn that they would not budge from the place until they had tied Muhammad and his companions to one rope. I advise you not to slay Muhammad, but to capture him and everyone alive, so that we may punish them, and hinder the people from abandoning the religion which their fathers professed.'

Wâqidi says there is a tradition of Sohayl B. A'mru according to which he spoke as follows: 'Verily, on the day of Bedr I have seen men dressed in white garments, soaring between heaven and earth, and mounted on piebald steeds, engaged in slaying and capturing the enemies.' Abu Asyd narrates of a man belonging to the Ghuffâr tribe, that he said: 'I and the son of my uncle ascended a mountain on the day of Bedr to see which of the two parties would be victorious, and, though we were both idolaters, we beheld on that occasion a cloud near us, in the midst whereof we heard the neighing of horses and the clattering of iron. We also heard a voice shouting, "*Aqdim hyzdum*" and the dreadfulness of this voice burst the veil of my cousin's heart so that he died on the spot. I myself nearly expired, but nevertheless took courage to look where the cloud would proceed to, and saw it approaching the apostle and his companions. After a short time, however, it returned again, and then I no longer heard any sounds as before.'

[200] Meaning 'ditch, pool, stagnant water,' but here applied to a locality.

It is recorded in chronicles that the apostle—u. w. b.—asked Jebrâil who the individual was that shouted *Aqdim hydzum* on the day of Bedr, but Jebrâil said: 'O Muhammad, I am not acquainted with all the inhabitants of heaven!' Some say that *Aqdim* with Fath and Hamzah, and Kesra to the Dâl is derived from *Aqdâm*, which word the Arabs have considered as an exclamation to a horse, the vocative particle itself being omitted. According to another tradition *Hydzum* was the name of the horse of Jebrâil.

It is related of Sâyb B. Hanys that he said: 'I swear by God that on the day of Bedr no human being has made a prisoner.' And being asked who had captured him, he continued: 'When the Qoraish began to flee, I necessarily followed them, and all of a sudden I beheld a tall white individual riding on a piebald horse in mid-air. That person approached and tied me. On that occasion A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf arrived, and, finding me bound, exclaimed many times: "Whose prisoner is this man?" but, receiving no answer, he conveyed me to the prophet, who exclaimed: "O Ebn Hanys, who has made thee prisoner?" And I, unwilling to state the actual fact, said: "I do not know the man!" Then the apostle said: "One of the blessed angels has captured him," and added: "O Ebn A'wuf, take away thy prisoner."'

It is related of Abu Haryrah that he said: 'On the day of Bedr I brought three heads of idolaters to his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and said: "O apostle of God, I have killed two of these fellows, and a tall white man cut off the head of the third." His lordship replied: "He is one of the angels."' It is related of the apostle—u. w. b.—that he said: 'I was victorious with the breeze, and have sent my enemies to destruction.' But if the musky pen were to record the details of the traditions which have come down to us on this subject, the present work would become too extensive. In short, it is related in the *Raudzatu-l-ahbâb* that the idolaters heard the neighing of horses of the

angels; this assertion, however, contradicts all the biographers.

It is related that on the said day the garments of the angels were white, and their turbans green, yellow and red, the corners whereof hung down in their rear; and from the front as well as from the tail of every horse a bunch of cotton was suspended. It is necessary to inform the reader that all the professors of the religion consider the descent of the angels on the day of Bedr to have been a real fact, namely, that their bodies have come down from a high to a low place. Some doctors of divinity have, however, explained the event in another manner, which it is not proper to record in this place, and they have been at variance with those who state that the angels really fought against the unbelievers. Others say that they actually took part in the battle, while some maintain that they descended merely to cause the professors of Islâm to appear very numerous in the sight of the idolaters, each party adducing arguments of their own to confirm their views, which are recorded in books, and after the gently ambling reed has mentioned the fight of the angels, it descends to [record] that of men.

It is related that when the professors of Islâm and of infidelity attacked each other, and the flames of the battle had been rekindled, A'assum B. Abu A'wdzub As-Sahmy raised his voice in the ranks of the contest like a furious lion, and said: 'O ye Qoraish, do not spare the man who scorns his own relatives and sows discontent. If he remains safe I shall not be safe.' By these words he alluded to his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—but while he was yet speaking Abu Dujjanah, the Anssari, sent him with one blow of his sword to the infernal regions. At the same time Moa'bd B. Wuhub struck Abu Dujjânah so that he fell on his knees, but immediately rose again, and aimed several blows at Moa'bd, none of which, however, took effect. The latter, nevertheless, fled from the former, till he fell into a hole, where Abu Dujjânah attacked and finally slew him.

There is a tradition that when the apostle of God heard of Naufil's being in the army of the Qoraish, he exclaimed: 'O God, reward Naufil, the son of Khowylad,' who is said to have been shouting on the day of Bedr: 'O ye Qoraish, this is a day of exultation and of honour;' but when he saw the people fleeing, to have exclaimed: 'O ye Anssâr, what profit will you derive from killing us? Do not you want camels?'—thereby implying that they ought rather to make them prisoners and to accept camels as a ransom. At last Jubbar B. Al-ssahar, the Anssâri, captured him, placed him in front of himself, and was thus bearing him away when all of a sudden they met the lion of reiteration, and when Naufil perceived that A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—was approaching them, he said to Jubbar: 'O brother Anssari, I swear by Lat and by U'zza I see a man coming towards me.' Jubbâr replied: 'It is A'li Bin Abu Tâleb.' Naufil continued: 'By Allah! I have seen no one more skilled in killing his antagonists than this man.' When Murtadza A'li—u. w. b.—arrived close to Naufil he threw a sabre at his head, which stuck into it. After that he pulled it out, and struck his legs therewith so as to maim them, and with one stroke more he killed the man. When he arrived in the assembly of his prophetic lordship, the latter asked: 'Knows anyone what has become of Naufil B. Khowylad?' Murtadza A'li—u. w. b.—replied: 'I have killed him.' Hereon his lordship shouted the Takbyr [magnification of God], and said: 'Praise be to Allah, who has answered my prayer.' In the *Aa'llâmu-l-uara* it is recorded that before the flight [of Muhammad from Mèkkah, *i.e.*, before the Hegira] Naufil had attached Ttolhah with Zobayr to a horse, and had thus tortured them. He was the uncle of Zobayr B. Ala'wwâm.

It is on record that seventy of the antagonists were killed and as many captured. According to a certain tradition, thirty-six of the former had been slain by the hand of Murtadza A'li—u. w. b.—but there is no doubt that he killed at least twenty-four, and among these were Zama'ah B. Alaswad, Hareth B. Za'mah, O'mayr B.

O'thmân B. Ka'b, and O'thmân and Mâlek, both of whom were brothers of Ttolhah.

The Emâm Muhammad Baker relates that A'li Murtadza said: 'I was astonished at the bravery of the Qoraish, who, though they saw how I had killed Wolid B. O'tbah, and how I struck Hanttalah B. Abu Sofyân that both his eyeballs protruded from their sockets, were not fleeing, but continued to fight me.' One of the principal individuals slain was Ommyah B. Khuluf, concerning whom A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf says: 'In the time of ignorance [before Islâm] great friendship subsisted between me and Ommyah B. Khuluf, and I was called A'bd A'mru; but when I had professed Islam his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—surnamed me A'bdu-r-rahman.[267] One day Ommyah said to me: "Thou hast renounced the name by which thy father has called thee, and I do not call thee A'bdu-r-rahman because Moseylamah[268] is in Yamamah called Rahmân, whose servant I do not consider thee to be. But when I hail thee as A'bd A'mru thou answerest not. Now, I want to address thee by a name to which thou wilt answer." I replied: "O father of A'li, call me by any name thou likest." He continued: "Hereafter I shall call thee A'bdalahah." I assented, and afterwards he addressed me in conversation always by the just-mentioned name till the day of Bedr, when the idolaters were put to flight by the decree of Divine providence, and I was bearing away two cuirasses, which I had taken on the battle-field, when Ommyah B. Khuluf, whose son A'li was with me, happened to perceive me, and shouted: "A'bd A'mru!" But I replied only after he had hailed me by the name of A'bdalahah. He exclaimed: "Save us! hinder us from being killed, that I may procure thee something more lucrative than these two cuirasses." Accordingly I threw away the coats of mail, taking hold of the hands of both the father and son. I walked off with them; but all of a

[267] A'bd A'mru means 'servant of A'mru,' and A'bdu-r-rahman 'servant of the merciful' [God].

[268] Usually called 'Moseylamah the liar,' or the 'false prophet.'

sudden Belâl happened to catch sight of me, and as Ommyah had greatly tormented him in Mekkah to cause him to abjure Islâm, he exclaimed: 'O Anssâr [*i.e.*, helpers] of Allah and Anssâr of the apostle of Allah, behold the chief and ringleader of the idolaters, Ommyah B. Khuluf. If he be released I shall not be saved." When the professors of Islam heard the shouts of Belâl, they rushed with drawn sabres upon Ommyah, and in spite of my telling them that these two individuals were my own prisoners, it was of no avail. They threw Ommyah on his back, and I threw myself upon him; nevertheless, Hubbâb B. Almundher cut off his nose with a sword, and when Ommyah felt that his nose had disappeared, he said to me: "O A'bdullah. abandon me to them." Accordingly I ceased to protect him, whereon Habyb B. Yasâf, the Anssâri, killed Ommyah with one stroke of his sword, and Hubbâb B. Almundher severed with one blow the feet of A'li, the son of Ommyah, from his body.' A'bdu-r-rahman continues: 'On that occasion A'li B. Ommyah uttered a shout, the like of which in strength and fervour I had never heard before. After that O'mmâr B. Yâser made him join his father [in death].' It is related that A'bdu-r-rahman had occasionally said: 'May God the Most High have mercy upon Belâl for having caused me to lose my cuirasses and my prisoners to be killed!' In this battle O'mar fought with his maternal uncle, A'ass B. Heshâm B. Moghirah, and killed him.

It is related of Abu Dujjânah, the Anssâri, that he said: 'On the day of Bedr my sword broke, and when his lordship the apostle knew it, he gave me a stick, which was transmuted into a long white scimitar, wherewith I fought our enemies till they were put to flight.' A number of the Bani Alashhal possess a tradition that the sword of Salym B. Aslam broke in the fight of Bedr, and that he had no other weapon besides it. His holy and prophetic lordship happening to hold a staff in his hand, he presented him therewith. That staff became a sharp sword, which he used till he attained martyrdom in the battle of Ohod.

It is related that of the seventy men who were killed in

the battle of Bedr, nearly thirty belonged to the most celebrated families, and many of their princes fell a prey to the grasp of fate. Of their chieftains the following were made prisoners: A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, O'qail B. Abu Tâleb, Abu-l-a'ass B. Arrabya'h, Abu-U'zza B. A'bdullah Alhamy, Sohayl B. A'mru, O'tbah B. Abu Moa'ytt, Nassar B. Alhareth; but O'tbah and Nassar were killed after having been made prisoners, as shall be narrated by-and-by, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

Of the Musalmans fourteen individuals attained martyrdom, namely six Mohajer and six Anssâr [*sic*]. In short, that battle entailed a great defeat and slaughter upon the enemies of the religion. One of the pious says in praise of his lordship the seal of prophets—u. w. b.:

Verses: 'Thou king who hast closed the door of prophecy in the world,
And hast by thy miracles fatigued the souls of the enemies,
Alone thou hast cut the moon into two halves,
Valiantly thou hast gained the battle of Bedr.'

It is related that on the day of the battle the chief of the family of A'bd Menaf said to his companions: 'I know a number of the Bani Hashem, and others who are not of them, who have come out from Mekkah against their own will. If you meet any of the Bani Hashem, but especially A'bbas B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, do not kill him. Abstain also from slaying Abu-l-bakhry, who has done his best to annihilate the written contract of the Qoraish, wherein they had bound themselves to injure the Bani Hashem, and who has never insulted his lordship, nor his companions, but has restrained the idolaters from persecuting the apostle.' Abu Khodhayfah B. O'tbah would, however, not listen to the injunction of his lordship the refuge of termination, and said: 'Shall we kill our fathers and brothers, and spare A'bbas? I swear by Allah that if I get a chance I shall smite him with my sabre!' When the words of Abu Khodhayfah reached the august hearing of the prince of the companions, he turned to O'mar, and said: 'O father of Hafadh, hearest thou that Abu Khodhayfah sayeth: "I shall smite the uncle of the apostle of God with my

sword"?' O'mâr replied: 'O apostle of Allah, permit me to strike off his head, for he has become a hypocrite.'

In the chronicle of Hâfez Abrû it is written that his lordship the Musstafa—u. w. b.—replied to O'mar: 'He has not become an infidel and hypocrite, but he uttered these words from grief for his father, brother, and uncle.' And when O'mar importuned him for permission to slay Abu Khodhayfah, the prophet said: 'O Abu Hafadh, do not kill him, for God the Most High is going to vouchsafe him martyrdom, which will be an atonement for his words, and will convey him to paradise.' When Abu Khodhayfah had heard of the conversation between his lordship and O'mar, he repented of what he had said, and became afraid of eternal punishment. After that he was present in many fights, and boldly staked his life, hoping to attain martyrdom, and his wish was at last gratified in the war against Moseylamah the liar.

It is related that Abu-l-yasir B. Ka'b B. A'mru, the Anssâri, had captured A'bbâs, the former being a short, and the latter a very tall man. His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—asked Abu-l-yasir: 'How hast thou captured A'bbâs?' He replied: 'I was in this matter aided by a man whom I had never seen before. He was of a wonderfully strange and terrible aspect.' His lordship said: 'That individual was a noble angel.'

Wâqidi says that Abu Daûd Mâzany spoke as follows: 'On the battle-field of Bedr I said to Abu-l-bakhry: "The apostle of God has prohibited us from killing thee!" He replied: "I have likewise regarded his advantage; but the women of Mekkah know that I suffer no one to fetter my hands, and I am aware that thou wilt not refrain from tying me, and wilt do whatever thou likest." Abu Daûd then shot an arrow towards Abu-l-bakhry, which struck him in a lethal part, so that he died immediately.' In the tradition of Muhammad E. Esahâq we read that Muhdharah B. Zyâd met Abu-l-bakhry on the day of Bedr and informed him of the prohibition of the apostle—u. w. b.—whereon Abu-l-bakhry replied: 'Pray do not injure my

friend who came with me from Mekkah, and is now present.' Muhdharah replied: 'We shall not spare thy friend, because the injunction of the apostle refers to thee alone.' Abu-l-bakhry continued: 'The women of Mekkah will reproach me for having ceased to protect my friend to save my own life.' Then he uttered the following distich:

'Ebn Jarqâ will not abandon his friend
Unless he dies or sees him safe.'

After that Muhdharah and Abu-l-bakhry fought; the latter was killed, but the former presented himself in the assembly of his prophetic lordship and said: 'I met Abu-l-bakhry, and though I tried much to capture and to bring him, he refused, and fought till he was slain.' In the same manner the prohibition was given not to kill Hareth B. Naufil, but one of the companions slew him inadvertently.

It is related that when Sa'yd B. Moa'adh stood at the door of the shelter, as a sentry to the apostle of God—u. w. b.—he saw that the professors of the Faith were capturing the idolaters, and was so displeased that the prophet, observing signs of anger on his countenance, asked: 'Sa'yd, dislikest thou what is taking place?' He replied: 'God the most high has declared the idolaters to be miserable, and I would rather see them killed than left alive.' It is related that the Musalmâns fastened their prisoners with ropes, and that when the night set in A'bbâs commenced to moan, on account of the tightness of his bonds, so that his lordship the apostle was unable to sleep. Therefore one of his companions relaxed the ligaments of A'bbâs, who afterwards also fell asleep. His lordship then asked: 'How is it that I do not hear the lamentations of my uncle?' And being told the reason, that prince ordered all the captives to be dealt with in the same way. One of the principal historians of our times has recorded that when the Musalmâns had tied the prisoners, A'bbâs wept, because heavy fetters had been put upon him, and as the prophet, hearing his wailings, was unable to fall asleep, some persons asked: 'O apostle of God, why sleepest thou not?' He replied: 'On account

of the groans of my uncle A'bbâs.' Accordingly a man went out and relaxed the bonds of A'bbâs, so that he went to sleep. Then his lordship asked: 'How is it that I do not hear the lamentations of my uncle A'bbâs?' The man replied: 'O apostle of Allah, I have loosed his bonds.' His lordship hereon said: 'Lighten the fetters of all the prisoners.' If this excellent author means that the Musalmâns carried with them heavy and light chains and fetters, or were accompanied by a dexterous blacksmith to perform the [just-named] operations, he asserts what is contrary to the facts; but if he alludes to the tightness of ropes, he contradicts experience and his own statement, because the heaviness of bonds injures a man only when he is in motion.

Learned biographers have related that by order of his holy and prophetic lordship the bodies of twenty Qoraish chieftains were thrown into one of the wells of Bedr, but as the limbs of Ommyah B. Khuluf had been dispersed, his mangled body was interred where he had fallen, and covered with earth and stones. When his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—issued the command to heave the Qoraish princes into the well, O'tbah was, in compliance therewith, *dragged along the ground of humiliation*. When his son, Abu Khodhayfah, beheld him in this condition, he was dismayed, and his colour changed. The apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—having perceived this change in the features of Khodhayfah, said to him: 'It appears a misgiving has arisen in thy mind from what has happened to thy father?' Abu Khodhayfah replied: 'O apostle of Allah, I swear by God that I have no misgivings about Islâm, but my father was intelligent, noble, well-bred, and courteous. I thought these qualities would guide him to Islâm, but the contrary being the fact, I am incensed and dismayed.' Hereon the prince uttered a benediction upon Abu Khodhayfah.

It is related that on the third day after the victory of Bedr his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—mounted his camel and proceeded with a number of his companions

to a place where the idolaters had pitched their camp, and exclaimed: 'O O'tbah B. Rabia'h, O Shaybah B. Rabia'h,' mentioning in succession the names of all the idolaters who had fallen in battle. Then he continued: 'Have you found verified what your lord has promised to me?' He further said: 'You are a wicked people for accusing your prophet of falsehood. Others have believed me, but you have expelled me. Others gave me a refuge, and have been faithful. You have fought against me, but they aided me.' There is a tradition that O'mar exclaimed on that occasion: 'O prophet of Allah, do not speak to lifeless corpses.' According to another tradition the companions said: 'O apostle of Allah, thou speakest to a nation which is dead.' The narrator of the latter tradition says that the apostle replied to his companions: 'But it knows that what its lord had promised is true.' Muhammad E. Esahaq relates in the *Kitâbu-l-maghâzi*, that there is a tradition of A'ayshah —and Ssiddyqah [*i.e.*, A'ayshah] asserts—that according to the opinion of many the apostle of God—u. w. b.—replied: 'Verily they have heard what I said,' which, however, is contrary to the fact, because his lordship had attributed to that nation knowledge, but not audition. Muhammad E. Esahâq likewise quotes a tradition of Hamyd Ttuwyl, and the latter of Anus B. Mâlek, that when his lordship the apostle called out to the idolaters near the well, the Musalmâns said: 'O apostle of Allah, thou speakest to people who have become rotten and smell badly;' but that he replied: 'You cannot hear the words which I say better than they can.' Qobâdah alleges that on the said occasion God the Most High resuscitated the idolaters to hear the words of his lordship the apostle, so that they should incur the greater perdition and disappointment hereafter.

Division of the Spoils after the Flight of the Infidels. Consultation with the Companions concerning the Redemption and Slaughter of the Captives. A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, the Uncle of his Lordship the Best of Men, professes Islâm; and some Other Events which took Place at that Time.

A'bâdah B. Ssâmat says that on the day of Bedr the Musalmâns consisted of three legions. The first was stationed near the shelter as a body-guard to the apostle—u. w. b.—the second fought the enemies of the religion, and the third was engaged in making prisoners, as well as securing property and arms. When the Qoraish had been put to flight, each of these three legions proffered its claims to a share of the booty. Some biographers relate that the combatants said: 'Had we not fought, there would have been no plunder, and therefore we claim it.' The guards of the apostle said: 'O prophet of God, we have not refrained from fighting on account of indolence or indifference to our eternal reward, but we feared lest the enemy might suddenly fall upon thee.' Lastly, those who had collected all the booty which was scattered about imagined that no others had any claim thereto. Accordingly, when they began to quarrel, the blessed verse, 'They will ask thee concerning the spoils. Answer: The [division of the] spoils [belongeth] unto Allah and the apostle,'[269] was revealed; and after that the verse, 'And know that whenever ye gain any [spoils], a fifth part thereof belongeth unto Allah and to the apostle,' etc.,[270] was revealed. A'kramah has a tradition that when the people began to dispute about the booty the apostle ordered them to collect into one heap everything they had taken. When this had been done, the guards in their turn fancied that everything was to be bestowed upon them; but when his lordship the refuge of termination had ordered the whole property to be distributed in equal shares among the companions, Sa'ad Woqqass exclaimed: 'O apostle of Allah, givest thou the same

[269] Qurân, ch. viii. 1. [270] *Ibid*, 42.

[shares] to the champions of the people and to the weak?' His holy and prophetic lordship replied: 'May thy mother be childless! Can you be victorious except by the aid of the weak among you?'

It is related that the army halted in the Wâdy Ssaghrâ on the top of a hill, where the booty was distributed in equal shares to all who had been present at the battle of Bedr, and to the before-mentioned eight individuals who had remained behind by the command of his lordship, who kept for himself Abu Jahl's own camel and the sword of Bunyah B. Alhajjâj, which was called *Dhu-l-fiqâr*. This sabre was afterwards presented by him to A'li the Commander of the Faithful. Some biographers allege that this scimitar had belonged to A'ass B. Bunyah, who, being much attached to the prophet, incited the people to march out, but was, when doing so, stung by a serpent, and thereby hindered from being present in the battle and attending upon his lordship. Some maintain that the portion of Sa'd B. Mâlek was assigned to his heirs, because he had, when preparing to march out, fallen sick and died.

All chroniclers agree that by order of the prophet the above-mentioned eight men who had not been present in the battle received equal shares with the combatants. One of these was O'thman, whom his holy and prophetic lordship had sent back to Madinah to take care of his sick wife, who was his lordship's daughter. The second was Ttolhah B. A'bdullah, and the third was Sa'd B. Zayd B. Nafyl, whom his lordship had despatched to bring news about the caravan of the Qoraish, as has already been recorded. These three individuals were noble Mohâjer, and the five others Anssâr. One of these was Abu-l-nabah B. A'bdu-l-mundhar, who had been appointed Governor of Madinah. Another was A'assum B. A'dy, whom his lordship had ordered to govern the inhabitants of Qobbâ. The third individual was Hâreth B. A'atty, who had been sent by the prophet on a certain errand to the Bani A'mru B. A'wuf. Khât B. Jobeyr and Hâreth B. Ssahah had fallen from a camel and injured their limbs. Some assert that his lord-

ship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—numbered the heirs of the martyrs [*i.e.*, the slain] of Bedr with the combatants, and assigned shares of the booty to them likewise, but the principal historians deny this; nor did the slaves who were present in that army receive anything.

When the august mind of his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—was freed of the care about the enemy, he ordered his manumitted slave Shuqrân to guard the prisoners. The latter cherished hopes that their lives would be spared, and sent the following message to [Abu Bakr] Sseiddyq: 'We and you are relatives, and we ask you to request your companion, namely the Mussttafa [*i.e.*, Muhammad], to oblige us by either releasing us or accepting ransom, and thus sparing our lives.' Sseiddyq gave fair promises, and the messenger returned joyfully. Then the prisoners said to each other: 'We all know how very stern O'mar is. It will be necessary to gain him also over to our cause.' Accordingly they despatched the same message to him, but Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar] gave an irate reply, and hastened to the prophet, with whom he found Abu Bakr pleading for the captives as follows: 'O apostle of Allah, may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! Thy companions have sons, uncles, and brothers among the Qoraish. Have mercy upon them, that God the Most High may have mercy upon thee; or accept ransom from them so as to enrich the Musâlmans, although I hope they have joined thee from disinterested motives.' The apostle —u. w. b.—however, thought it more convenient to remain silent than to reply to Abu Bakr. When the latter departed from the assembly, Farûq took his place, and said: 'O apostle of Allah, these people are the enemies of God. They have accused thee of falsehood, have exiled thee from thy country, and have fought against thee. Strike off the heads of these chiefs of infidelity and error, to ennoble and to confirm Islâm, to humble and to annihilate unbelief.' His lordship, however, also in this case replied nothing. After that Abu Bakr again honoured the assembly with his presence, took a seat, repeated his former speech,

and added: 'O apostle of God, these people are of thy nation and clan. Do not be the first to extirpate them; and it is better to hope that God the Most High will guide them to the true way, than to cause them to perish in their error.' After these words Ssiddyq again left the company, and Farûq reiterated his solicitation, saying: 'O apostle of Allah, cut off the heads of the idolaters, and comfort the hearts of the Musalmâns. What necessity is there for delay in this matter?' On this occasion the lord of the righteous likewise answered nothing, either to one or the other of these individuals. He was so grieved and afflicted. After both of them had again repeated their sentiments, his lordship—u. w. b.—entered his tent, but came out again after awhile. Some professors of Islâm sided with Fârûq, but others with Ssiddyq, whereon his lordship, turning to his companions, said: 'Among the angels Mykâyl is like Abu Bakr, who pleads with God the Most High for mercy towards His servants. Among the prophets Ebrahim is like him who was the meekest individual of his nation. They kindled a fire and threw him into it, but he only said: "Fie on you, and upon that which you worship besides Allah. Do you not understand?[271] For whoever follows me is of me, but whoever contradicts me, God is forgiving and merciful." He is like I'sa [Jesus], who said: "If Thou punish them, they are Thy servants; but if Thou pardon them, Thou art the most glorious and wise!" Among the angels, Jebraïl is like O'mar, who said: "Calamity and vengeance will befall the enemies of God the Most High" Among the prophets Núh [Noah] is like him who was harder towards his people than stones, and who said: "Lord, wilt Thou sow infidels upon the earth?" Or like Músa [Moses], who said: "O Lord, obfuscate their understandings and harden their hearts, that they may not believe until they feel the grievous chastisement."' The narrator records that after these words the apostle—

[271] The above words occur in the Qurân (ch. xxi., part of ver. 67), but not the rest of the phrases here attributed to Abraham. For the Moslem stories about Abraham see Part I, vol. i., pp. 126-183.

u. w. b.—said to his friends: 'You are poor; therefore no prisoner is to be released except by paying ransom or by cutting off his head.' Then A'bdullah B. Masu'd said: 'Except Sohayl B. Baydza, whom I saw professing Islâm in Mekkah.' After Ebn Masu'd had uttered these words, his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—remained silent for one hour, and A'bdullah said: 'No hour of my life seemed to be longer to me than this one. I was looking up to heaven, and considering whether a stone would fall from it upon me for having sinned against God by speaking so hastily, and against the prophet, who after awhile repeated my words, "Except Sohayl B. Baydza," and I never had a sweeter moment in my life than this.' The prophet then said: 'God the Most High and Glorious so hardens the hearts of some that they become more obdurate than stone, and so mollifies the hearts of some that they become more soft than butter.' When a revelation arrived it was a verse reproving the Musalmans, and the apostle of God said: 'Had a punishment come, no one would have been saved on the day of Bedr except O'mar, because he said: "Kill, and accept no ransom."' Let it not remain hidden from the intelligent reader that some judicious individuals have narrated this tradition in a different manner, and have discussed it in various ways, so that if the reed of explanation were to note them all this book would become very prolix. There is another tradition, that when his lordship the apostle was consulting with his intimate friends whether the prisoners ought to be allowed to ransom themselves or ought to be killed, Ssiddyq exclaimed: 'They are of thy nation and clan. If thou acceptest ransom from them and liberatest them, they may possibly turn to the right way or beget monotheistic offspring. The ransom will, moreover, enrich and strengthen the hands of thy companions.' But O'mar said: 'Order them all to be slain, because these people are the leaders of the infidels, and God the Most High and Magnificent has released thee from accepting ransom for them. Surrender this man to me, O'qail to A'li, and Abbas to Hamzah, that

we may strike off their heads, and by this chastisement *break the obstinacy of the infidels; the latter will thereby* also learn that not a spark of regard for them remains with us.' The paragon of those who had obtained Divine grace [*i.e.*, the prophet] approved of what Sseiddyq had said, and uttered the sentiments recorded above concerning the softness and hardness of hearts. When, however, the decision was come to of accepting ransom for the prisoners, the apostle ordered his friends to treat them well, and released some captives who were poor without price or money. One of the latter was Abu-l-Uzza the poet, who pleaded his destitute condition, turned to his holy and prophetic lordship, and said: 'I have five daughters, and if thou pardonest me I shall never fight against the professors of Islam, nor instigate anyone to do so.' His lordship then conferred that favour upon him, and gave him leave to depart to his own country; but the remainder of his affairs will be recorded in the [account of the] battle of Ohod, if it pleaseth God the Most High. Every one of the poor who was acquainted with the art of writing was ordered to teach it to two children of the Anssâr, and afterwards to receive his liberty. Those who were rich had to pay ransom, which amounted, according to circumstances, from one thousand to four thousand dirhems per head. When the ransom of A'bbas was settled, he exclaimed: 'I am a Musalmân, but the people have brought me against my will.' His lordship replied: 'God knows about thy Islâm, but outwardly thou hast fought against us, and thou must pay ransom for thy two relations, *i.e.*, O'qail the son of Abu Tâleb and Naufil B. Alhareth.' A'bbas replied: 'I possess nothing; whence shall I pay all that property?' His lordship replied: 'From the gold which thou hast entrusted to thy wife Ommu-l-Fazl when thou hast marched out, and thou hast said to her: "If anything befalls me in this expedition keep some of it, and give some of it to our children."' A'bbâs asked: 'How knowest thou this?' His lordship continued: 'God the Most High has informed me thereof.' A'bbâs said: 'Thou hast spoken the truth;

for when I surrendered the gold to Ommu-l-Fazl, and gave her that advice, no one except God the Most High can have heard what I said to her,' and added : 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah!' It is said that A'bbâs was one of those Qoraish princes who had by turns provided the army with food daily, and that he had for this purpose brought twenty Oqyahs of gold, but that the idolaters had been put to flight before his turn arrived, so that the Musalmâns deprived him of the gold and laid it by among the spoils. Subsequently, when the ransom was to be paid A'bbâs proposed to his lordship to deduct the above sum from the ransom which he had to pay for four persons; but his lordship replied. 'Thou hast brought that gold to aid the infidels, and it may not be computed as ransom.'

When the Musalmâns were engaged in collecting the ransom, the following verse was revealed: 'It hath not been [granted] unto any prophet that he should possess captives until he had made a great slaughter [of the infidels] on the earth. Ye seek the accidental [goods] of this world, but Allah regardeth the life to come, and Allah is mighty [and] wise[272] And also the following: 'Unless a revelation had been previously delivered from Allah, verily a severe punishment would have been inflicted on you for [the ransom] which ye took [from the captives at Bedr].'[273] It is related that the next day Fârûq went to the apostle and saw him crying with Ssiddyq. Then Fârûq asked: 'Why weepest thou, O prophet?' His lordship replied: 'We cry because we have agreed to accept ransom,' and pointing to a near tree, he continued, 'and because I was told that the punishment of my companions is nearer to me than this tree.'

In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is related that the Sheikh B. Hajar has recorded in the commentary to his *Bokhâry* that the following tradition of A'li had been authenticated by trusty vouchers,[274] namely, that Jebrâil came to the

[272] Qurân, ch. viii. 68. [273] *Ibid.*, 69.

[274] *Esnâd*, 'supports,' *i.e.*, concatenated authorities vouching for the truth of an event.

prophet, and said: 'Give thy companions the option between killing the prisoners of Bedr, or accepting ransom on the understanding that next year they will be slain by the Musalmâns like any other prisoners [if they are captured].' His lordship consulted his friends, and they chose to accept the ransom. But the author of the present work declares that the allegation of the above vouchers, concerning the tradition of A'li—u. w. b.—about the arrival of Jebrâil and giving the option to the companions, is not correct; because, in case the Almighty had left them the option between slaying or ransoming the prisoners, it would imply that both these acts were equally acceptable to the Most High, which can scarcely be the case, but Allah the Most High knows best the true state of the case.

It is related that when the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—left the plain of Bedr and arrived in Athyl, the prisoners were presented to him for inspection, and when his august vision alighted upon Nassar B. Alhâreth he looked at him in such a manner that Nassar said to a man standing by his side: 'I swear by Allah that Muhammad will kill me, because I see my death in his two eyes.' That man replied: 'Thou sayest so because fear has overpowered thee.' Hereon he turned to Mossa'b B. O'mayr, and said: 'Thou art my near relative; intercede with thy master for me to place me among the companions, so that if he kills them I may also be killed, and if he releases them I may also be liberated.' Mossa'b replied: 'Thou hast nothing to do with the others, because thou hast much persecuted the apostle.' Nassar rejoined: 'By Allah! if the Qoraish had captured thee they would have been unable to kill thee so long as I was alive.' Mossa'b replied: 'By God! thou speakest the truth, but I am not like thee, because Islâm has cut in twain all covenants.' Waqidi says that when the apostle of Allah ordered the head of Nassar B. Alhareth to be struck off, Moqdâd said: 'O apostle of Allah, this prisoner belongs to me.' His lordship exclaimed: 'O God, deprive by Thy bounty Moqdâd of the reward of his worship. O A'li, arise and strike off his head!' A'li did

what he had been commanded. According to tradition this event took place in Athyl, and when his [*i.e.*, Moqdad's] sister heard of what had happened, she recited several distichs, which, having been brought to the notice of his prophetic lordship, he was moved. Another prisoner whom his lordship the refuge of termination ordered to be killed was O'tbah B. Abu Moa'ytt, who had been endeavouring to distress the sacred mind, as has been recorded above. When his lordship fled from Mekkah, O'tbah uttered two distichs, which, having been brought to the notice of the most noble audition of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—he turned his face towards the Qiblah of prayer, and said: 'O God, throw back the reward of O'tbah's worship upon his nose and destroy him.' Accordingly, he fell in the battle of Bedr from his horse, was captured by A'bdullah B. Solmah, and his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—ordered A'assum B. Thâbet B. Abu-l-aftáh to strike off his head in U'rku-t-thaybah, and O'tbah exclaimed: 'Woe to me, O ye Qoraish people! Why must I be killed among your prisoners?' The prophet replied: 'For the enmity thou bearest towards God and His prophet.' O'tbah continued: 'O Muhammad, thy mercy will be more excellent! Act towards me as towards the other prisoners. If thou killest them, kill me also, and if thou makest them grateful [by pardoning them], thou wilt make me grateful likewise. O Muhammad if thou slayest me who will take care of my children and little ones?' The prophet—u. w. b.—replied: 'The fire of hell!' Then he said: 'O A'assum, strike off his head!' And while A'assum was executing the order he had received, his holy and prophetic lordship exclaimed: 'I swear by Allah that thou wast a wicked man, and that I have not seen an infidel like thee! Thou hast insulted Allah, the prophet. and His book. I thank God that He has caused thee to be slain, and has thereby gladdened my eyes.'

It is related that A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b—captured A'mru B. Abu Sofyan, and that the latter fell to the share of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b. He

was the son of the daughter of O'tbah B. Abu Moa'ytt, and had been for a long time kept prisoner in Madinah. Abu Sofyán, having been asked why he did not send the ransom to Madinah that his son might be liberated, replied thus: 'Hanttalah, one of my sons, was killed, and I shall not redeem the other to spill his blood [likewise], or send goods, and nevertheless see him remaining a captive.' At that time Sa'd B. No'mân, of the Bani A'mru B. A'wuf, who was a decrepit old man, came out from Madinah with his wife to perform the pilgrimage, and never thought that he would be attacked by Abu Sofyân, considering that the Qoraish had made an agreement not to injure anyone travelling for the sacred ceremonies and the pilgrimage. When, however, that aged Sheikh arrived in the sanctuary, Abu Sofyân imprisoned him as a retaliation for [the captivity of] his son. Sa'd despatched this news to his clan; the Bani A'mru B. A'wuf represented the case to the august mind of his lordship the Mussttafa—u. w. b.—and requested him to exchange A'mru B. Abu Sofyân for Sa'd, which was accordingly done.

Some chroniclers relate that Hakym B. Huzâm was one of those who saved their lives by flight in the battle of Bedr. When he left the camp he was in search of a refuge, and overtook A'bdullah B. Ala'wwâm and A'bdu-r-rahman B. Ala'wwâm, both of whom were mounted on one camel and fleeing. A'bdu-r-rahman said to his brother: 'Alight, and let Abu-l-khâled mount.' A'bdullah, however, being lame, replied: 'Thy limping excuse is plain to me, for how am I to traverse the distance on foot?' A'bdu-r-rahman continued: 'It will be useful to let this man ride, for if we die he will take care of our families, and if we remain alive he will consider it his duty to protect us.' Accordingly the two brothers alighted respectfully, mounted Hakym upon their camel, and rode by turns in his rear until they arrived in Mekkah. Hakym B. Alhuzâm was ennobled by professing the Faith in the 'year of the victory,' and he loved the apostle of God. On a certain occasion he manumitted in A'rafat one hundred slaves, every one of them

having a golden collar on his neck, with the words 'This is a free man' engraved thereon. In each season of the pilgrimage, during the time of ignorance as well as in Islâm, he sacrificed one hundred cows, one hundred camels, and as many sheep. He became a Musalmân in his sixtieth year, and lived sixty years more. One day he asked his holy and prophetic lordship: 'Will I derive any profit from the good works I did in the time of ignorance?' His lordship replied: 'Previous good works will turn to future benefits;' and as the name of Hakym B. Alhuzâm has several times occurred in these pages, the above details have also been inserted concerning him.

Narrators of histories state that when the idolaters had marched towards Bedr the young men who remained behind used to assemble every evening in Dhu Ttowy, and spent the greater portion of the night telling stories and reciting verses, until one night they heard several distichs foretelling the defeat of the Qoraish, but did not see the speaker. One of them was the following:

> Behold the *Khayfûn* and calamity of Bedr
> Will entail the fall of Kesra and of Qaysar.[25]

Muhammad B. A'mmâr Yâser says that when the young men heard the verses, but saw not the speaker, they were dismayed, and went in search of him. When they had passed Hajar, they found an old man who knew many tales. They informed him of what had taken place, and he said: 'If it be true what you say, the speaker by the word *Khayfûn* alluded to Muhammad and his companions, because they are surnamed *Khyfyah*. Muhammad B. A'mmâr says that all the young men who were that night at Dhu Ttowy caught fever. When two or three nights had elapsed after this event, Hisân Khozâny arrived in Mekkah as the first of all the fugitives, and informed the people of the misfortunes of the Qoraish, saying: 'O'tbah and Shaybah, the sons of Rabya'h, Wolyd, the son of O'tbah, Bunyah, the son of Hajjâj, Abu-l-bakhri, Za'mah

[25] The former was the title of the Emperor of Persia, and the latter of Byzantium: Choeroes and Cæsar.

B. Alaswad, Abu Jahl, and Ommyah B. Khaluf, and such and such men have been killed.' On that occasion Ssafuwân B. Ommyah was sitting in a room, and, hearing this news, he said to those who were with him: 'By Allah! Hisân has become crazy, and knows not what he says. Ask him how Ssafuwân is.' Accordingly they queried: 'What sayest thou about Ssafuwân?' He replied: 'Behold him sitting opposite to me. But I have indeed seen his father and brother killed. I have seen Sohayl B. A'mru and Nassar B. Alhâreth captured, both of them being tied with ropes.' This recital had gone thus far, when Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who had fled from the battlefield, arrived. Abu Lahab exclaimed: 'O son of my brother, come, for thou hast the true news.' He replied: 'Uncle, when we encountered the companions of Muhammad we remained immovable in our places, saw them taking the weapons from us, and tying our hands to our backs. I beheld men dressed in white garments and mounted on piebald horses, soaring in mid-air, but we could not do anything to them.' The author of the present work declares that the above is a statement from the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb*, which contradicts the one before made in these pages, namely, that the idolaters heard the neighing of the horses of the angels, but could not see them, and which [contradiction] is more evident than the meridian sun.

Abu Râfi', the slave of A'bbâs, says: 'When Abu Lahab was examining Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth about the Qoraish, I was sitting in a room and cutting an arrow, and Ommu-l-Fazl, the wife of my master, was sitting by my side. When Abu Sofyan mentioned the troopers on piebald horses, I exclaimed: "I swear by Allah that they were angels." Abu Lahab was then so incensed with anger that he first struck me on the face with his fist; then he lifted me up, threw me on the ground, and beat me. As I was feeble and of bad sight, I could not offer resistance; but when Ommu-l-Fazl perceived what was going on, she got up, struck Abu Lahab with a stick, and wounded him badly,

saying: "Is it in this way that thou treatest the slave of A'bbás in his absence?" Accordingly Abu Lahab departed from the house, ashamed and disconcerted; but seven days afterwards he joined his co-religionists who had sped to hell fire before him, he having been injured by the *A'dasah*.[376] But as the Arabs dreaded the *A'dasah* as much as the plague, his own children would not approach him, and his corpse commenced to smell badly. One of the Qoraish reproved them, whereon they hired a bearer, who threw the body into a hole, and they piled stones on it so as to conceal it from the eyes of men.' In some books it is recorded that the stench of Abu Lahab's carcase was so insufferable that no one could enter the house where it was, and that his sons knocked down the house upon the corpse.

Narrators of histories have recorded that when the Omnipotent Sovereign had distinguished his friends by granting them the benediction of victory, his holy and prophetic lordship had, after returning from the battle-field of Bedr and arriving in Athyl, despatched A'bdullah B. Ruâhah to Madinah, to inform the inhabitants of the blessed region of what had taken place. He sent also Zayd B. Hârethah on the same errand, giving him his own camel, Qaswy, to bear the joyous news. The just-named two messengers acted as they were bid, and departed on the wings of speed. A'bdullah separated himself at A'qyq from Zayd, and hastened towards the upper part of Madinah. As soon as he arrived there, he exclaimed before alighting from his camel: 'O ye Anssâr, I bring you glad tidings of the safety of the apostle of Allah, of the slaughter of the idolaters, and of their bondage. The sons of Rabya'h, the sons of Hajjâj, Abu Jahl, Zama'h B. Alaswâd, and Ommyah B. Khuluf, have been killed, and Sohayl B. A'mru has, with many others of the enemies, been made prisoner.' A'ssum B. A'dy says: 'I ap-

[376] This is a kind of pustule, which was often lethal; it may perhaps mean the small-pox. The expression is derived from a word which means 'bean, lentils, peas.'

proached A'bdullah, and asked: "O son of Ruâhah, is it true what thou sayest?" He replied: "I swear by Allah that it is so, and, if it pleaseth the Most High, his lordship will arrive to-morrow, and will also bring the captives."' It is said that A'bdullah proclaimed the victory of the professors of Islâm at every door of the houses of the Anssâr situated in the upper portion of Madinah, so that all the children of the place followed him, shouting: 'The wicked and accursed Abu Jahl has been killed!' The people had just terminated the funeral of Raqyah, the wife of Dhu-l-nûryn, and had not yet left the grave, when Zayd, riding the camel of his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—arrived at the Massalla of Madinah, and, mounted as he was, exclaimed: 'O'tbah, Shaybah, and such and such men have been killed.' He also mentioned a number of Qoraish chiefs who had fallen into the misery of captivity. The hypocrites, however, disbelieved the news which Zayd had brought, and one of those unhallowed individuals said to Asâmah B. Zayd: 'Muhammad and his friends have been killed.' Asâmah says: 'I asked my father secretly whether it was true what he was saying, and he swore an oath that such was the case. This comforted me, so that I accosted the just-mentioned hypocrite, accusing him of telling falsehoods about the apostle I also threatened him that next day, when the latter arrived, I would not fail to request him to order the head of the hypocrite to be struck off; but he replied: "O father of Muhammad, I have heard *this* news also from the people."' In the same manner one of the hypocrites said to Abu-l-bâbah B. Almundhar: 'Your companions have been so dispersed that they will never assemble again. All your friends have been killed, as well as Muhammad, whose camel Zayd has mounted and fled. He has arrived, and knows not what he is saying.' Abu-l-bâbah retorted: 'God will show that thou art a liar' The Jews likewise said: 'Zayd has fled from the battlefield.'

It is related that when the apostle of God returned and arrived in Athyl, he intended to remain the whole night at

that place, and asked: 'Who will guard us this night?' One of the companions immediately rose promising to do so, whereon his lordship asked that individual: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'I am Dhakwân B. A'bdu-l-Qâsum.' His lordship continued: 'Sit down.' He obeyed, and his lordship repeated the former question. Then another man rose, saying: 'I shall remain awake this night to guard the professors of Islâm.' His lordship queried: 'Who art thou?' He answered: 'I am Ebn A'bdu-l-qays.' The apostle of God said: 'Sit down.' His lordship reiterated the question again, and a man said, rising: 'This is my duty.' The apostle queried: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'I am Abu Soba'.' His lordship then remained silent, but after awhile exclaimed: 'Where are those three friends?' Dhakwân said: 'All these three times I was the same man who answered.' Whereon his lordship uttered a blessing on him.

Wâqidi says the apostle of God commenced his post-meridian prayers in Athyl, but smiled after having performed one flexion. When he had completed the orison, his companions asked: 'Why hast thou smiled?' He replied: 'Mykâyl had passed me with dust on his wings. He smiled at me, and said that he was seeking my people. Also Jebrâil, riding a mare with a spot on her forehead, approached me, and said: "O Muhammad, God the Most High has sent me to thee, and ordered me not to leave thee till thou art satisfied. Art thou now satisfied?" And I said: "Yes."'

In short, his holy and prophetic lordship was victoriously returning with much booty and numerous prisoners, and when he arrived near the excellent city of Madinah, some of the grandees of the Awus and nobles of the Khazraj, who had refrained from accompanying the most exalted cavalcade, came out to meet the august company, and were exalted by being allowed to wait on his lordship. They offered their excuses, which were accepted, and one of them, Asyd B. Khudzur, spoke as follows: 'O apostle of Allah, thanks and praises be to God, who has granted thee victory,

and has gladdened thy eyes by causing thee to behold the defeat of the enemy. I swear by Allah that, if I had thought this affair would end with a battle, I would not have considered it proper to lag behind.' His lordship the refuge of termination believed his words and accepted his excuse. A'bdullah B. Anys was ennobled in the place Tarbân by being allowed to kiss his lordship's hand, whereon he said: 'O apostle of Allah, when thy army marched out I was sick; but yesterday the fever left me, wherefore I came to-day to wait upon thee.' His lordship answered: 'May God the Most High reward thee.'

When Shuqrân, the freed man of the apostle—u. w. b.—arrived with the prisoners, the friends who had been astonished at the hypocrites who disbelieved the news brought by A'bdullah B. Ruâhah and Zayd B. Hârethah saw that it was nothing but the truth. This information also frightened and distressed above measure the Byzantine Christians and their scholars, who had been aware that the time of the mission of the prophet of latter days was at hand.

Abu-l-A'ass B. Rabyi' B. A'bdu-l-u'zza B. A'bdu-sh-shams was also one of the prisoners of Bedr. He was one of the merchants of Mekkah, distinguished for his wealth, great honesty, and perfect humanity. Before the mission, Khodayjah had requested his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—to allow her daughter Zaynab to be married to him, and after obtaining permission the marriage took place. But when God the Most High and Magnificent ennobled His favourite by imparting revelations to him, Khodayjah and the chaste daughters of his lordship professed the Faith. Abu-l-a'ass was, however, for some time unwilling to abandon the religion of his fathers, and O'tbah B Abu Lahab, who was the second son-in-law of his lordship was so far misled by the idolaters as to divorce the daughter of that prince before the consummation of the marriage, but departed, in consequence of the prayers of his lordship, in the worst manner to the infernal regions, as shall be recorded in the proper place, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High. When the Qoraish marched out from

Mekkah for the protection of their caravan, Abu-l-a'ass was also one of their number, but was made prisoner at Bedr. Zaynab despatched some property for his ransom, and therewith also a necklace presented to her by Khodayjah—u. w. b.—on her wedding night; but when the eyes of his holy and prophetic lordship alighted upon that ornament, he was greatly moved, and said to his friends: 'If you deem proper, we shall send back the prisoner to Zaynab, together with all the property she intended for his ransom.' And the Musalmâns very willingly dismissed Abu-l-a'ass with all his goods to Mekkah. Muhammad E. Esahâq says that when his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—released Abu-l-a'ass, he despatched also Zayd B. Hârethah to the sanctuary [*i.e.*, to Mekkah] to bring the apple of his eye. To please Zaynab, Abu-l-a'ass prepared a howdah, and appointed his brother Kunânah B. Rabyi' to bring her from Mekkah. About breakfast time Kunânah took his bow and arrows, with the bridle of the camel for the apostle's—u. w. b.—daughter, and departed from Mekkah openly. The idolaters, being amazed at this proceeding, said: 'Just look in what manner they carry away the daughter of Muhammad from us!' Accordingly a number of the Qoraish became much excited, and hastened after the party, but Hayâr B. Alaswad B. Asad B. A'bdu-l-u'zza Qossay and Nâfi' B. A'bdu-l-qays Alkhozay preceded all the others, and overtook it at Dhu Ttowy. Hayâr frightened Zaynab by attacking her with his lance, so that she fell from the howdah and was prematurely delivered of an infant. For this reason his holy and prophetic lordship made it lawful to shed the blood of Hayâr when Mekkah was conquered.

Wâqidi says: 'When the idolaters desired to turn back Zaynab, Kunânah B. Rabyi' sat down, poured out his arrows from his quiver, placed one of them upon his bow, and swore that he would pierce therewith any man who touched Zaynab. Abu Sofyân then stepped up to him from among the people and said: "Do not shoot thy arrows till we have spoken to thee!" Kunânah complied

with the demand, whereon Abu Sofyân continued: "It is clear to thee what an injury Muhammad has inflicted on us, and now, as thou openly leadest away his daughter from Mekkah, the people will ascribe this act to our weakness and humiliation. It is not at all necessary for our purpose to separate the daughter from her father, but it will be proper for thee to take Zaynab back to her house, and thou mayest act as thou listest as soon as the night sets in and the people go to rest." Kunânah deemed the advice of Abu Sofyân to be sensible, conveyed Zaynab back to Mekkah, but took her out of it again the very same night, and then surrendered her to Zayd B. Hâreth, who bore her to Madinah.'

Muhammad E. Esahâq narrates a tradition of Abu Haryrah to the following purport: 'The apostle of God appointed a number of his companions to plunder a caravan of the Qoraish, and ordered them to burn Hayâr B. Alaswad and Náfi' B. A'bdu-l-qays in case they should be victorious. The next morning, however, he said: "No one except God the Most High and Glorious has a right to punish anyone by fire; if, therefore, you get hold of Hayâr and of Náfi', simply kill, and do not burn them."' Bellâl has a tradition that, at the time when the apostle of God was sending out raids in all directions, he said: 'If you catch Hayâr B. Alaswad, burn him with fire.' After that he said: 'No one punishes by fire, except the Lord of the fire,' and continued: 'If you get hold of him, cut off his hands and feet, and then kill him.' At that time, however, Hayâr fell not into the hands of those who had sallied forth, and when Mekkah was conquered he preferred flight to permanency. But when his lordship the prince of men and demons had terminated the Ghazwah of Honeyn, he suddenly perceived Hayâr at Jaghranah, and that man was exalted by being allowed to kiss the earth, saying: 'I testify that there is no God except Allah, and that thou art the prophet of Allah.' His lordship accepted this profession of Islâm, and when one of the maids of his lordship the refuge of termination lengthened her tongue in curses towards him,

the apostle replied: 'Whatever has occurred before Islâm is blotted out by Islâm.'. It is related of Zobeir, B. Ala'-wwâm that he said: 'When hard words were uttered with reference to Hayâr, I perceived his lordship the apostle drooping his head for shame, and Hayâr catching hold of the skirts of excuse, whereon the apostle also begged his pardon; and how beautiful is the saying:

Distich: Behold the graciousness of the Lord,
The slave has sinned, but he is ashamed.'

Cause of O'mayr B. Wohob Hajmy's Profession of Islâm.

Muhammad E. Esahâq says: 'O'mayr B. Wohob was one of the Satans of the Qoraish during the time of ignorance. In the battle of Bedr he had saved his life by flight, but his son was captured in the grasp of fate. A short while after the just-named calamity of the idolaters O'mayr and Ssafuwân were sitting together in a room and talking with each other about those who had been overcome and slain at Bedr. On that occasion Ssafuwân B. Ommyah said: "I swear by God that life is bitter after losing them." O'mayr replied: "By Allah such is the case, and if I had no debtors, creditors, connections and dependents to hinder me, I would, on the pretence that my son is a prisoner in Madinah, go there and kill Muhammad. This would be very feasible, as I am informed that Muhammad walks about alone in the streets." Ssafuwan replied: "Thou art aware that in supporting and protecting my connections and dependents I have no equal nor peer in Mekkah. I bind myself to provide for thee and thine, and shall stand security for all thy debts." Hereon O'mayr agreed to go. Ssafuwân made arrangements for the journey, gave him a camel to ride, incorporated O'mayr's family and maintenance with his own, and became bail for his liabilities. Then O'mayr said to Ssafuwân: "This matter is to be kept secret from everyone until it is successfully terminated." After that he impregnated his sabre with poison and departed. When he had traversed the distance and terminated the journey he duly arrived in Madinah.

alighted at the gate of the apostle's mosque from his camel, and intended to hasten into the presence of his holy and prophetic lordship. On that occasion Fârûq happened to be sitting with a number of friends discussing the fight of Bedr, and the protection of God the Most High, which had on the said day fallen to the lot of the professors of Islâm, when all of a sudden his eye alighted upon O'mayr, from whose shoulder a sabre was dangling. He became suspicious of him, and instigated the Musalmâns to secure him, saying: "This man is O'mayr B Wohob, and an enemy of God, who had on the day of Bedr reconnoitred the army. had borne news of its paucity to the idolaters, and had incited them to attack us, saying: 'The companions of Muhammad amount to just as many as can be seen, for none of them are in ambush.'" Accordingly the Musalmans took hold of O'mayr by the command of Farûq, who made haste to wait upon his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and said: "O'mayr, who is a wicked traitor, has come armed, and there is no telling what his evil intention may be." Then his lordship ordered Fârûq to bring him in. O'mar took hold with one hand of O'mayr's shoulder-belt and with the other of the hilt of his sword, leading him thus into the most noble assembly. His lordship beckoned to Fârûq to let go his hold, and said. "O'mayr, come a few steps nearer." The latter complied, and uttered the salutation current during the time of ignorance, whereon the apostle said: "God, whose magnificence be glorified, has forbidden us to use thy greeting, and has bestowed upon us that of the denizens of paradise, which is *Salam* [*i.e.*, peace, or salutation]" Then he asked O'mayr why he had come, and the latter replied: "I came for the sake of thy prisoner, whom I desire thee to treat well." His lordship rejoined: "O'mayr, tell me truly what the reason of thy coming is" But O'mayr repeated his former answer. Hereon his lordship asked· "What arrangements hast thou made in the chamber with Saafuwan?" These words staggered O'mayr, and he requested the prophet to narrate what arrangements had

been made on the said occasion. That prince continued. "Thou hast promised to kill me on condition that he would pay thy debts," and related the whole conversation from beginning to end, with his wonderfully eloquent tongue, concluding with the words: "God the Most High interposed between thee and this business." But according to another tradition he said: "Between thee and me there is a mode." O'mayr was so impressed with these words that he exclaimed: "I testify that thou art the apostle of God, and that what thou sayest is true! And I testify that there is no other God but Allah! O apostle of God, we have accused thee of falsehood concerning the Divine revelation and the information thou receivest from heaven, but now I am convinced that everything is true, because not a soul except myself and Ssafuwân could be aware of what has transpired between us two, nor has anyone except the Most High informed thee of what took place. I thank the Omnipotent for having vouchsafed to show me the straight path and the true way." When O'mayr was made happy by his profession of Islâm, all the Musalmâns rejoiced, and Fârûq said: "When I first beheld O'mayr I loved a swine more than him, but now I like him more than some of my own children." After O'mayr had made his profession of Islâm his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—said to his companions: "Teach your brother the Qurân, and liberate his prisoner." O'mayr said: "O apostle of God, ere this I attempted to extinguish the Divine light; but now, as I have received grace, allow me to return to Mekkah and to invite the Qoraish to accept Islâm, and possibly God the Most High and Glorious will guide them, and, by leading them out from the wilderness of aberration, will bring them to salvation." As soon as O'mayr had obtained leave, he returned with his son to his country. While, however, O'mayr had been in Madinah, Ssafuwân often said to the Qoraish: "You will soon receive joyous news, the pleasure whereof will blot out the calamity of Bedr from your minds;" and he asked everyone who

arrived in Mekkah wkether anything [extraordinary] had taken place in the country of Yathreb. In this manner he one day also asked a traveller about O'mayr, but the man replied: "He has become a Musalmân." Hereon Ssafuwân, with all the idolaters, pronounced a malediction upon O'mayr, and Ssafuwân swore that he would never speak one word to O'mayr during his whole life, nor aid his family henceforth. Nevertheless, when O'mayr arrived in Mekkah, numerous idolaters agreed with him, and made their profession of Islâm.'

During this, *i.e.*, the second year of the Flight, O'ssmâ, the Jewess, a daughter of Merwân, was killed. She was a woman well known in her tribe, and accustomed always to speak evil of the Musalmâns, to open her filthy mouth in depreciations against his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and against his companions. While the apostle of God was marching to Bedr some silly verses of O'ssmâ were brought to the notice of O'mayr B. A'dy, who was a blind man, but had at the very beginning sincerely and zealously professed Islâm, being well known in Madinah for the obedience and love he manifested towards God and His apostle—u. w. b. This individual made a vow that if God the Most High and Glorious would bring His favourite safely back to Madinah he would kill that accursed woman On account of his cecity, O'mayr had been obliged to deprive himself of the pleasure of accompanying the august cavalcade on that expedition; but when his lordship the refuge of apostleship returned victoriously and joyously from the battlefield of Bedr to the mansion of his dignity, O'mayr walked on a certain night with a guide to the dwelling of O'ssmâ, which he entered, and, groping about, discovered that she was just suckling an infant. O'mayr separated the latter from O'ssmâ, and plunged a sword so well into her bosom that it came out at her back. He returned during the same night and assisted at the matutinal devotions of the apostle of God. When his lordship had completed his prayers he glanced at O'mayr, took cognizance, by the light of prophecy, of what had taken place, and

asked: 'Hast thou killed the daughter of Merwân?' O'mayr replied: 'Yes, O apostle of God; but fearing that his act might have displeased the most noble mind, he queried: 'Has this deed entailed any blame upon me?' But the apostle of God replied: 'Henceforth zeal will no more butt against her,' which proverb was uttered by his lordship for the first time. O'mayr states that the apostle —u. w. b.—looked at the persons who were around him, and exclaimed: 'If you desire to behold a man who had aided God and His apostle secretly, look at O'mayr B. A'dy.' In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* this event is said to have taken place as follows: During the second year after the Flight O'mayr B. A'dy sent a man to kill O'ssmâ, the daughter of the Jew Merwân, who constantly spoke evil of the Musalmâns, insulted and ridiculed the apostle. The writer of these lines says that this tradition, which belongs to the author of the *Mostaqadza'*, is more probable, because, if we consider that many thousands of persons were most ready to execute the behests of his lordship the Mussttafa—u. w. b.—it is not likely that a blind man would be appointed to kill anyone.

The Ghazwah of the Bani Qaynuqaa.'[277]

When the apostle honoured Madinah with his presence he made a treaty with the Bani Qaynuqaa' Jews not to injure them, on condition of their likewise refraining from hostility, and aiding the Musalmâns in case they should be attacked by enemies. This covenant subsisted until his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b—returned from Bedr to his mansion of nobility in Madinah. When the Bani Qaynuqaa' perceived that the notes of the Muhammadan war-tymbal began to resound loudly, they said: 'Muhammad has fought with men who possess no knowledge of the art of war; but if he attacks us he will learn what war is.' Accordingly they determined, under some

[277] Qurân, ch. iii. 107 is by some considered to allude to this tribe of Jews, the name of which is in the Bombay lithographed edition misspelled *Qayqanaa'*.

pretence or other—recorded in biographical works—to break the treaty; but when this intention became known to his holy and prophetic lordship he assembled their chiefs, and harangued them as follows: 'O ye Qaynuqaa' men, profess the Faith. I swear by God that you are aware of my being His prophet. Fear Allah the Most High! Possibly a calamity like that of the Qoraish may befall you.' The Jews replied: 'O Muhammad, thou thinkest we are like the Qoraish. Do not be misled and deceived by thy victory over people who do not know how to fight. For, if thou wagest war against us, thou wilt learn that we are not like others.' After uttering similar nonsense, they departed from the noble prophetic assembly. Meanwhile Jebrâil descended, and brought the following verse: 'Or if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back [their league] to them with like treatment.'[278] Then the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—decided to extirpate the rebels, appointed Abu-l-bâbah as his successor in [governing] Madinah, and gave a banner to Hamzah; but others allege that A'li B. Abu Tâleb received it.

Accordingly the prophet marched from Madinah, and, in conformity with a certain tradition, God the Most High inspired the Jews with fright after they had endured a siege of eleven days and nights, so that they sent a message to be allowed to abandon their fortifications and depart; whereon his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—sent the following reply: 'Your departure will depend upon my orders.' When, however, the Jews were no longer able to stand the siege, they necessarily complied with the requirements of Divine Providence and came out from the fort, amounting in number to seven hundred individuals. His lordship ordered Mundhar B. Qodâmah to tie the hands of all those people to their backs. Meanwhile A'bdullah B. Abu Mâna waited upon his lordship, and said: 'O Muhammad, deal kindly with my friends.' His lordship, however, would not listen to his reiterated entreaties. Then Ebn Salûl touched with his hand the neck of his lordship, saying: 'O

[278] Quran, ch. viii. 60.

apostle of God, bestow a favour upon my relatives and friends.' Hereon that prince became angry, and, according to one tradition, exclaimed: 'Woe betide thee! let me alone!' And this is narrated also in the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb*; but according to another he said: 'Woe betide thee! let me go!' as is recorded in the *Mostaqadsa'*. The writer of these lines says that rhetoricians consider the hurried utterance of the expression 'Woe betide thee' [*Waylak*] to be attributable to ire and wrath, rather then the expression *Wayhak*. On the other hand, A'bdullah again said to the prophet: 'By Allah! I shall not leave thee till thou grantest them a favour, nor will I let go my hold of thee until thou hast compassion on three hundred men dressed in coats of mail, and four hundred lancers who protected me from every foe.' When the expostulations and solicitations of Ebn Salûl had exceeded all bounds, his lordship the refuge of termination exclaimed: 'Liberate them; the curse of God be upon them and accompany them!' Then he ordered them to emigrate from their habitations, and appointed A'bâdah B. Ssâmat to superintend their exodus, not allowing them a longer respite than three days. Accordingly A'bâdah proceeded with them as far as Zabâb, which is a mountain on the road to Syria, and then returned. When the Jews arrived at Wady-l-qorâ they sojourned there one month, and then entered Syria, where they setttled, but, nevertheless, departed a short while afterwards along the road of non-existence to the infernal regions.

After the Bani Qaynuqaa had left their habitations and country by the world-embracing command of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—their goods and arms fell to the share of the Musalmâns. Of that spoil the prince kept three bows, two cuirasses, and three lances for himself, gave one coat of mail to Muhammad B. Moslamah, and another to Sa'd B. Moa'adh. Then he ordered one-fifth of the plunder to be separated, and divided the rest among the companions.

In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is recorded that his lordship the apostle ordered A'bâdah B. Ssâmat to remove the Jews,

and when they asked the latter for a respite of three days, he replied: 'I shall give you a respite of three days, because also the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—has commanded me to do so; but if I had the option I would give you none.' After that A'bâdah marched out with them from their habitations, and accompanied them as far as Zabâb. From that place they went to Zara'at, which is a region in Syria, but they perished after a short time, and their property, together with their arms, fell to the share of the Musalmâns. The writer of these pages says that from this narrative it is plain that the goods of the Jews, named Bani Qaynuqaa', had fallen into the possession of the professors of Islâm after they had perished; all the other historians and biographers assert, however, that the protectors with whom they had taken refuge obtained all the property. When the Musalmâns returned from this Ghazwah they held the prayers of the *I'yd Dzohâ*,[279] and his lordship, together with the wealthy people and the companions, slaughtered sacrifices.

The Ghazwah of Sawyq.

When Abu Sofyân fled from the battle-field of Bedr to Mekkah, he made a vow that he would neither anoint his body with oil, nor have connection with women until he had revenged himself on the Mussttafa, and on his noble companions. According to a tradition he sallied forth, some time after that event, with two hundred troopers, from the sanctuary. When he had marched awhile, he reached the habitations of the Bani Andzyr, and traversed, during the night, the encampment of the Bani Akhttab, in order to obtain from them information about the lord of the righteous and his companions, but the encampment shunned him; wherefore Abu Sofyan betook himself to the place of Sollâm B. Mashkam, who was glad to meet him, prepared a repast, and caroused with him, the two friends disclosing to each other all their intentions. Next morning

[279] Festival celebrated at present on the tenth of the month Dhu-l-hejjah. It is also named *I'yd Qurban*, 'festival of the sacrifice.'

Abu Sofyân left the place of Sollâm, and proceeded as far as O'rydz, which is one Farsakh distant from Madinah. There the infidels killed an Anssâri engaged in agricultural labours, and burnt several date-trees; Abu Sofyân desired to fulfil his vow in this manner, and then to flee. As soon, however, as the apostle had obtained information what Abu Sofyân was about, he made Abu-l-bâbah his lieutenant in Madinah, and went with two hundred Mohâjer and Anssâr in pursuit of Abu Sofyân. When the idolaters got wind of the approach of his lordship they threw away their bags of Sawyq[280] to accelerate their progress, although they had carried them on that journey as a luxury. The Musalmâns picked up these bags, and called this expedition the 'Ghazwah of Sawyq,' which some biographers allege to have taken place in the third year after the Flight.

Events of the Third Year after the Flight.

According to some, the Ghazwah of Qarqarah Akdar took place this year, the reason for which was as follows: When it reached the august and prophetic audition—u. w. b.—that a number of the Bani Salym and Ghuttfân had congregated in the just-mentioned place, his lordship marched against them with a company of Mohâjer and Anssâr; but when he arrived at the place of destination he saw no one. Accordingly he sent a number of his companions to reconnoitre the upper portion of the Wady, while he himself examined the lower part with the bulk of his friends among whom was also a slave, Ysâr by name, and his lordship asked him where the Bani Salym and Ghuttfân were? Ysâr said: 'I know not where they are, but possibly they may have gone to the water.' Then his lordship ordered the herdsmen and camels to be driven towards Madinah. At daybreak the Musalmâns held prayers, and his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—perceived Ysâr standing, kneeling, and prostrating himself as they did. After the termination of their devotions, that prince ordered the camels to be distributed, but the companions said: 'O apostle of God,

[280] The meaning of this word has been explained in foot-note 262.

some of the men are fatigued, and have not the strength to drive the quadrupeds. If thou wilt so order it, we shall divide them in Madinah.' They also said: 'O prophet of Allah, if thou believest that this slave, namely Ysâr, has faith, we will surrender him to thee.' He lordship replied: 'If you gladly present him, I accept him.' The friends joyfully complied; that prince thereon took him, and liberated him. Arriving in the vicinity of Madinah, the camels were divided, and after setting apart one-fifth of the number, two fell to the share of each man, but others say seven.

THE MURDER OF KA'B B. ALASHRAF.

Wâqidi says that after his lordship the apostle—u. w. b—had conquered his opponents at Bedr, no hypocrites or infidels could remain in Madinah, except degraded and humbled. Some Jews said: 'After this, Muhammad will overcome his enemies wherever he goes.' Ka'b B. Alashraf, who was a grandee among the Jews, but had now become abject and contemptible, said: 'Now that the princes and chiefs of the Qoraish have been killed, it is better for me to be under than above ground.' He then betook himself to Mekkah, at the invitation of the Qoraish, and composed a threnody on those of the idolaters who had been slain; the purport of it was, however, at the same time to invite the infidels to wage war against the prince of the righteous. Although the Mekkans had, by the advice and instigation of Abu Sofyân, abstained from bemoaning their dead, lest the Musalmâns should rejoice, they began to weep and to lament as soon as they had obtained cognizance of the poem of Ka'b B. Alashraf, and continued to mourn a whole month. The just-named accursed individual had already, before the fight of Bedr, uttered satires against his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and against his noble companions, and had always harboured ill-will towards the professors of monotheism. When Ka'b returned from Mekkah, his lordship the seat of apostleship heard of his doings, and exclaimed:

'O God, requite Ebnu-l-ashraf with whatever Thou willest for his evil machinations and for his poetry.' Then he turned to his friends, saying: 'Who will punish the wickedness of Ebn Ashraf, because he has insulted God the Most High and His prophet?' Muhammad B. Moslamah said: 'O apostle of God, art thou willing that I should kill him?' His lordship replied: 'Yes.' Then B. Moslamah returned to his own house, and abstained three days from eating and from drinking. When the information of this behaviour reached the august hearing of his prophetic lordship, he asked for the reason thereof, and Muhammad B. Moslamah replied: 'I have made thee a promise, but I know not whether I shall keep it or not.' The apostle—u. w. b.—continued: 'Act with reference to this matter according to thy ability and power.' Hereon Muhammad B. Moslamah represented that in order to execute his intention he would have to utter words derogatory to his lordship, but the latter gave him full permission to do so. Then Muhammad B. Moslamah conspired with Abu Nâylah Salakân B. Salâmah, who was the milk-brother of Ka'b, with A'bad B. Bashar, Hâreth B. Moa'adh and with Abu I'ysa to kill Ebn Ashraf. It is said that even Muhammad B. Moslamah himself was a milk-brother of Ka'b B. Alashraf. The tradition is that Abu Nâylah arrived before his companions at the house of Ka'b B. Alashraf, by whom he was politely received, and asked for what purpose he had taken the trouble to pay him a visit. Abu Nâylah replied: 'The coming of that man [*i.e.*, of Muhammad] is a calamity to us, because all the Arabs are quarrelling and fighting with us, the people being unable to travel freely and to have intercourse with each other. Misery has come upon us. Our families are suffering, and though we have ourselves scarcely enough to eat, he is nevertheless every now and then making new demands.' Ka'b replied: 'I have ere this spoken these very words to thee, and I am the son of my father, but wherefore are you yourselves still? I swear by God that you will be fatigued and distressed.' Abu Nâylah then con-

tinued: 'Many others are of the same opinion with me. We have fallen into trouble, and wish to borrow some food and dates from thee. We are ready to leave with thee whatever pledge thou likest.' Ka'b consulted his family, and said: 'Give your wives as a pledge.' But Abu Nâylah rejoined: 'How could we, who are the best of Arabs, give our wives for a pledge?' Ka'b then said: 'If you do not wish to surrender your females, give me your children.' Abu Nâylah rejoined: 'Thus we would incur the blame of everybody; but, if you like, we shall give our weapons as a pledge, and will bring them to thee as soon as night sets in.' Ka'b agreed to this proposal, saying: 'Bring them whenever you like.' When Abu Nâylah had left the house of Ka'b, he informed his friends, and they went together to his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—and acquainted him with their intention. Accordingly, on the 14th of the month Ssafar Muhammad B. Moslamah departed with the four individuals whose names have been mentioned above, by the command of the best of men, and were accompanied by him as far as Baqyi'; and when they arrived in that place he uttered with his wonderfully eloquent tongue the words: 'Proceed, in the name of Allah!' Then his lordship the refuge of the apostolate returned home, and when those blessed five individuals arrived at the gate of Ka'b's fort, they requested him to come down. When Ka'b heard their voices he rose to meet his acquaintances and intimate friends; but one of his wives, whom he had acquired in the vicinity, said: 'Where art thou going out at this hour?' He replied: 'My brothers Muhammad B. Moslamah and Abu Nâylah have come, and I am going to meet them.' The intelligent woman rejoined, however: 'The man whose voice I have heard seemed to me to be dripping with blood.' Ka'b said: 'There is nobody besides them.' The woman nevertheless caught hold of the skirts of her husband's garment, and, desiring to hinder him from going out, said: 'I adjure thee by God, I felt the redness of blood in that voice.' Ka'b expostulated: 'Let me go! for this is my brother Abu

Nâylah, who [is so fond of me that he] would not awake me if he saw me asleep.' The woman again said: 'By Allah, I smell the odour of evil in that voice.' Ka'b asked: 'When a noble-hearted man is called, shall he not answer?' Then he disengaged his robe from the woman, came out from his fort, emitting perfume [from his garments]. He conversed awhile with Abu Nâylah concerning the matter in hand, whereon Muhammad B. Moslamah said to Ka'b: 'If thou art so inclined, let us promenade awhile in the moonlight, go to the "old woman's pass," and spend the rest of the night in conversation.' Ka'b agreed, and as they were walking Abu Nâylah said: 'Ka'b, thou exhalest a wonderfully sweet perfume.' Ka'b replied: 'The handsomest and most pleasantly smiling Arab woman is my wife.' Abu Nâylah asked: 'Permit me to smell the hair of thy head?' Being allowed to do so, he caught hold of his hair and smelt it; he held it also to the noses of the other men, and again let it go. After awhile he made the same request, and again took hold of the hair, but caught it this time strongly, and exclaimed to his companions: 'Strike the enemy of God with your swords!' The Musalmâns did as they were bid, but their sabres took little effect until Muhammad B. Moslamah placed a dagger on the navel of Ka'b and ripped open his breast. On that occasion Ka'b uttered so fearful a shout that, on account of the dreadfulness thereof, the inhabitants of all the forts who had heard it kindled bonfires. The professors of Islâm separated the head of that unworthy man from his body, and started in the direction of Madinah; and though the friends and followers of Ka'b went in pursuit of the Musalmâns, they were unable to overtake them, because they had missed the road. It is related that when the noble companions desired to slay Ka'b, and struck him with their sabres, one of them inadvertently wounded Hâreth B. Moa'adh so that he was not able to walk, on account of the great loss of blood he had sustained, and requested his companions to convey his salutation to the apostle. They took him, however, up, and proceeded towards their desti-

nation. When they had arrived near the cemetery of Madinah[281] they shouted the *Takbir* [magnification], which his lordship heard, and thereby knew that Ebn Alashraf had been slain. When the companions waited upon the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—he exclaimed: 'Are your countenances honoured?' And they replied: 'Thy countenance, O apostle of Allah.' They then threw the head of that worthless individual upon the ground of degradation and misery. His lordship first thanked God, and then put a little saliva from his blessed mouth upon the wound of Hâreth, which was thereby immediately healed.

THE MURDER OF ABU RÂFI' ON THE ROAD OF HEJÂZ.

This event took place as follows: After some men of the tribe Awus had done such a handsome service [to the cause of Islâm by slaying Ka'b], the people of Khazraj likewise desired to kill an enemy of the Faith, and an equal of Ka'b, so as to augment their merit. After some consideration they hit upon the idea to kill Abu Râfi', the brother of Kanânah B. Abu-l-haqyq, the husband of Ssafyah; and something about Kanânah will be mentioned in the record of the battle of Khayber. This Abu Râfi' had aided the idolaters with his property to fight his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and he possessed a fort near the country of Hejâz in the vicinity of Khayber. In the execution of the just-mentioned design of the Khazrajis, A'bdullah B. A'tbak, A'bdullah B. Anys, and Abu Qobâdah, with two other companions, conspired, and asked permission from his lordship to go to Khayber. After obtaining it, these five noble-hearted individuals started with the blessing of God, and reached the place at sunset, when the cattle of Abu Râfi' were returning to the fort from their pasture. Then Ebn A'tbak said to his friends: 'Wait ye in this place till I go and flatter the gatekeeper to obtain admission.' As his lordship the seat of apostleship—

[281] This is usually called *Baqyi'-l-ghurqud*, but in my lithographed copy misspelt *Baqyi' ghurfah*.

u. w. b.—had appointed A'bdullah B. A'tbak to be the leader of these four companions, they obeyed his injunction, and remained without the fort. When A'bdullah arrived near the fort, he threw the skirts of his garment over his head and sat down, as if answering a call of nature. At that time the people were accustomed to return to the fort after terminating their avocations of the day; hence the gatekeeper thought A'bdullah to be one of them, and said to him: 'Make haste to enter, because the day is spent, and I shall close the gate.' A'bdullah then went into the fort, and the keeper of the gate closed it; A'bdullah had, however, watched where he had placed the key, and perceived that he suspended it, according to his usual habit, upon a nail. A'bdullah took the key as soon as the porter had gone to bed, and opened the gate, so as to have a ready outlet in case he should be obliged to flee. Then he went in search of Abu Râfi', and discovered that he was awake in the upper chambers of his fort, having a story-teller to amuse him. A'bdullah waited till the story was terminated, and Abu Râfi', unaware that a more strange story was awaiting him, fell asleep. Then A'bdullah opened the doors of the upper chambers and locked them again from within. He continued thus till he reached the chamber in which Abu Râfi' was sleeping; but as the family of the latter were also in the same dark apartment, and he knew not where his sleeping place was, A'bdullah exclaimed: 'O Abu Râfi'.' The latter awoke, and in his alarm asked: 'Who is that?' Then A'bdullah dealt blows with his sword in the direction of the voice, but ineffectually, as he was too hasty. Therefore he went out, and, returning after awhile, he said in an altered voice: 'O Abû Râfi', what voice was that?' And the latter replied: 'Woe to us and to thee! In this chamber a man has struck me with a sword.' Then A'bdullah again gave him a blow, which, however, was insufficient to kill him; accordingly he placed the sabre on the man's abdomen, leaning on it with all his might, so that it came out at his back. Then A'bdullah departed, but fell from the ladder and broke his

leg. This he bandaged with his turban, and limped with his other foot till he came out from the fort and met his friends. These men nevertheless remained long enough near the fort to hear its inmates exclaim: 'Abu Râfi' the merchant has been killed.' Then they took up A'bdullah and started to Madinah. When they arrived there they made haste to wait upon his holy and prophetic lordship, and informed him that Abu Râfi' had been slain. That prince was very glad, and stroked with his blessed hand the broken leg of A'bdullah, to whom God the Most High granted a speedy recovery. When A'bdullah was again on his legs, the Jews dwelling in the vicinity, who had heard of his case, were much distressed, and said: 'What kind of fellows are these adherents of Muhammad who kill people in strongholds with closed doors?' Let it not remain hidden that most authors of biographies and of histories have related the manner of the murder of Râfi' in another way; that, however, which has been recorded in these pages is based on the correct tradition of Bokhâry. Nevertheless the [true] knowledge is with Allah.

Ghazwah of the Bani Tha'lebah.

This Ghazwah is also called the Ghazwah of Dhu Amr. The occasion for it was as follows: It had reached the august hearing of his lordship the refuge of prophecy that a number of the Bani Tha'lebah and others had assembled in Dhu Asr,[282] one of the villages of Najd, and intended to make a raid in the vicinity of Mekkah. Accordingly, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—issued orders to his friends to prepare, and marched with four hundred and fifty of his companions against the enemy. When they arrived at Dhu-l-qassad they captured one of the opponents and brought him to that prince, who examined him concerning the enemy. The man replied: 'They will not enter the lists of contention and battle with thee, because they have made arrangements to retreat to the fastnesses

[282] Spelt *Dhu Amr* a little above.

among the mountains at the approach of thy august troops.' In fact, when the Musalmâns reached the place of their destination [they found that] the idolaters had taken refuge on the mountain-tops, so that the two opposing armies were able [only] to see each other. Meanwhile a rain had moistened the garments of his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—and of his companions. Therefore that prince went a little aside from the camp and hung his robes on a tree to dry them, sitting himself down at the foot thereof for the sake of repose. The Arabs, who saw from the top of the mountain what was taking place, said to Ra'thûr B. Alhâreth, who was a chieftain of the people and a very brave man: 'See, Muhammad is reclining under a tree. There is some distance between him and his friends. Now is the time for thee to subdue him.' Ra'thûr, being glad at the chance, crept slowly with his scimitar bright like a tongue of fire, till he reached the bolster of the lord of apostleship, and exclaimed: 'Who will this day protect thee, and ward off my evil design from thee?' His lordship replied: 'Allah the Most Magnificent and Gracious!' Then Jebrâil struck the breast of Ra'thûr with his hand, so that he not only dropped his sword, but fell himself prostrate to the ground. Hereon his lordship grasped the sabre of Ra'thûr, and, standing by his side, exclaimed: 'Woe betide thee!' And Ra'thûr uttered in his perfect helplessness and weakness the words: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that thou art the prophet of Allah. By Allah! I shall no more assemble the people to wage war against thee.' His lordship then gave back the sword to Ra'thûr, who continued: 'I swear by Allah that thou art better than I am.' When he returned to his people they said: 'Thou wentest forth with a drawn sword against Muhammad, and hast done nothing, although there was no one to hinder thee from accomplishing thy design.' Ra'thûr said: 'I have seen a white and tall man, who gave me such a blow on the breast that I fell upon my back. I know him to be an angel and Muhammad the apostle of Allah.' After that he invited the people to profess Islám.

The writer of this work says that, according to the author of the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb*, the name of the man who assembled the idolaters at Dhu Asr was not Ra'thûr, but Ghowrath, which name was corrupted in conversation to Ra'thûr.

During the third year after the Flight, his holy and prophetic lordship also heard that Ssafuwân B. Ommyah had, with a number of prominent men from among the Qoraish, gone by way of E'râq on a commercial journey to Syria; therefore he appointed Zayd B. Hâreth with one hundred troopers to march in pursuit of him. When Zayd reached the idolaters their chiefs fled and saved their lives from the grasp of death; their property, however, which amounted in value to one hundred thousand dirhems, fell into the hands of the Musalmâns. During the same year the apostle—u. w. b.—bestowed the hand of his daughter, Omm Kalthûm, upon O'thmân B. A'ffân, and he took to himself as wives [Hafssah] the daughter of O'mar B. Alkhattâb, and Zaynab, the daughter of Khodhaymah.

Ghazwah of Ohod.

This campaign constitutes one of the events of the third year after the Flight, which happened as follows: After their escape from the battle of Bedr, the idolaters led their caravan—which Abu Sofyân had brought in—to the 'house of assembly' for protection. The chiefs of the Qoraish, such as Aswad B. Muttalleb B. Asad, and Khowyttab B. A'bdu-l-u'zza, and Ssafuwân B. Ommyah, and A'kramah B. Abu Jahl, with others, then spoke to Abu Sofyan as follows: 'This is the property of the inhabitants of Mekkah, and the calamity which has befallen them is evident to all. Now they are willing to disburse the gain acquired by this caravan, and to enlist an army numerous as locusts in order to march therewith against Muhammad. What is thy opinion in this matter?' Abu Sofyân [in his turn] asked: 'Do all the people agree in this business, or not?' They replied: 'Yes.' Abu Sofyân continued: 'I am most anxious for war, because in that battle the noblest

individuals and my son Hanttalah were killed; and in this intention the Bani A'bd Menâf agree with me.' Some have asserted that the value of the said caravan amounted to fifty mithqâls of gold and to one thousand camels. After selling everything, the original capital was returned to its owner and the profit was employed for the requirements of the army. After a consultation the most influential of the Qoraish arrived at the conclusion to despatch four individuals, noted for their faculties of persuasion, to the Arab tribes in order to induce them to afford assistance. One of these men was A'mru B. Ala'ass, the other the son of Abu Lahab, the third Abu-l-bakhry, and the fourth Abu U'zza Hajamy the poet. The last-named individual refused, however, to enter into the views of the people, and said: 'Yesterday Muhammad granted me life without ransom, and I have promised him never hereafter to incite his enemies to fight against him.' Ssafuwân B. Ommyah then said to him: 'Co-operate with us in this affair, and if thou comest out safe from the ensuing campaign, we shall grant thee riches enough to rejoice thy heart. Should, however, the issue be unfavourable, we will never forsake thy family.' Abu U'zza, nevertheless, persisted in his refusal, and Ssafuwân returned disappointed to the Qoraish, but next day repeated his visit to Abu U'zza in company with Jobyr B. Mottâm and reiterated his solicitation, but with the same success. Jobyr, however, pressed Abu U'zza so much that he at last consented. Accordingly, these four men roamed about the country to enlist soldiers.

When the Qoraish had determined to wage war, Ssafuwân B. Ommyah said: 'We must take our wives with us to bemoan those who have been slain at Bedr while our wounds are yet fresh. This measure will double our strength in the battle.' This proposal of Ssafuwân was accepted, and his opinion approved of by Akramah B. Abu Jahl and A'mru B. Ala'ass, but Naufil B. Moa'wiah Dhahly said: 'In case we are put to flight it will redound to our shame and degradation for having carried our women with us into the battle.' Despite of this objection manifested

by Naufil against the intention of Abu Sofyân and his friends, Hind, the mother of Moa'wiah, was very anxious that the women should go, and her husband, Abu Sofyân, said: 'I shall not oppose the Qoraish.' Accordingly he took both his wives, one being *Hind* B. O'tbah B. Ra'biah, and the other Sa'd B. Wohob, with himself. Also Ssafuwân B. Ommyah, A'mru B. Ala'ass, Akramah B. Abu Jahl, Tolhah, Hâreth, and many other idolaters whose names it would be too prolix to record, prepared howdahs for their wives and marched out from Mekkah. On this occasion also an adherent of Abu A'amer the monk, otherwise named Abu Qâsum the wicked, joined them. When the census of the army was taken, it was found to consist of three thousand men, seven hundred of whom wore cuirasses, of two hundred horses, of three thousand camels, and of fifteen howdahs. Thus all the nobles of the Qoraish sallied forth into the wilderness of opposition and hostility.

Wâqidi says that Abu A'amer the monk had joined the Mekkans before they went to the battle of Bedr, and had instigated them to attack the professors of Islâm, although he himself failed to make his appearance on the battle-field. On the present occasion he was, however, with the idol-worshippers, and said: 'Had I been among the people, *i.e.*, the men of Awus, two of them would not have opposed you.' There is also a tradition that he made promises to the Qoraish, and said: 'If we encounter Muhămmad, two men of the tribe of Awus will not remain with him. Behold, fifty of them have already come with me.' The Qoraish believed the words of Abu A'amer, and were confident of his aid. They carried singing girls with them, who chanted at every halting-place threnodies about those who had been slain at Bedr, and augmented the enmity. Abbas B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who was at that time dwelling in Mekkah, hired a man of the Bani Ghuffar to reach Madinah in three days, bearing a letter marked with his own signet, conveying the intentions of the idolaters and information about their army, with orders to deliver the letter to the Mussttafa—u. w. b. The messenger duly per-

formed the distance, and arrived in Madinah; but having been unable to meet the prophet, he went to Qabâr, where he delivered the epistle to the apostle of God, who opened and handed it to Abu B. Ka'b to read. When the prophet —u. w. b.—became acquainted with the contents of the letter, he ordered Abu not to reveal them to anyone. After that he honoured the house of Sa'd B. Al-rabyi' with his presence, and after confidentially conversing and admonishing him to keep the information secret, he returned. The wife of Sa'd had, however, been stealthily listening, and had heard everything his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—said to her husband. Hence that information became known in Madinah according to the proverb: 'Every secret known by more than two persons is divulged.'

Wâqidi relates that when the idolaters arrived in Abwâr they said: 'We must plunder the tomb of the mother of Muhammad, because if he captures our women we shall say: See, the bones of thy mother are with us! Then he will be compelled to exchange our females for them, or be obliged to purchase the remains of his mother from us with a heavy sum.' They consulted Abu Sofyân on this point, but he said: 'Let alone this business, and do not mention it; for if the Bani Bakr and the Khuza'ah, who are adherents and friends of Muhammad, hear of such an act, they will completely ransack the graves of all our cemeteries, and drag the corpses out.'

In short, when the opponents arrived at Dhu-l-Khalyfah, they halted in that place three days. On that occasion his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—appointed Anys and Mûnus, the sons of Fadhâlah, to make a reconnaissance of the enemy. They obeyed, and stated on their return that if the idolaters were to allow their camels to roam in the sown fields not a single green blade would remain. After that his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—sent Habbâb B. Almundher to spy about, and to bring information of the Qoraish. Habbab obeyed, and mentioned on his return to the prophet the numbers of the army, the

cuirasses and the quadrupeds, which precisely agreed with those mentioned in the letter of A'bbás. The prince of the companions then exclaimed 'God protects us, and He is our advocate. O Allah, to thee I turn, and in Thee I trust.'

On the eve of the Friday on which the battle took place, the principal Anssar were ready and armed watching the prophet till daybreak, and some of the Músalmans of Madinah likewise acted as guards. During that night his lordship dreamt that he wore a stiff cuirass, and that his sabre Dhu l-fiqár had received several notches; that he had killed an ox, and that afterwards a ram was sacrificed. According to another tradition, however, he dreamt that after the ox had been slaughtered a ram came up. When his lordship had performed his matutinal devotions by praising God the Most High, and had admonished his companions to remain steadfast, and to make preparations for the battle, he related his dream. The companions asked: 'What is the interpretation thereof?' And that prince replied: 'The cuirass is the fort of Madinah, the notches of my sword are the mental pain I shall have to endure, the killed ox represents the trouble which my companions will have to undergo, and the Qoraish are the ram whom God the Most High will slay if He pleaseth.' According to another tradition he said: 'The ram which came up after me means the Qoraish religion to be destroyed by us if it pleaseth God the Most High. Though the apostle—u. w. b.—had no intention to come out, and approved not of a battle in the open plain, he nevertheless condescended to take the opinion of his friends, and in this matter the principal Mohajer and Anssar agreed with his lordship. A'bdullah B. Abu Salúl said 'O apostle of Allah, hitherto no enemy has entered Madinah, and when one wished to do so during the time of ignorance, and we came out, we fought and defeated him. Although we were always the victors, we never left our stronghold. Therefore it will be [also now] expedient for us not to come out from Madinah, and to send our wives and families to

fortified places.' His lordship approved of the opinion of A'bdullah, but Hamzah B A'bd ul-Muttalleb, Sa'd B. A'badah, and a number of the Awus and the Khazraj, said: 'O apostle of Allah, if we entrench ourselves in Madinah, our enemies will ascribe that proceeding to our weakness, and become more audacious. God the Most High has granted thee the victory on the day of Bedr, although the number of combatants amounted only to three hundred and fifty. Praise be to Allah! This day our army is large, and we have for a long time been waiting for such an opportunity.' Then Malek B. Sunan, the father of Abu Sa'yd Khadhry, said 'O apostle of God, I swear by Allah that we are on the horns of a dilemma, that is to say, either victory or martyrdom is in store for us, both of which we covet.' Hamzah said 'O apostle of Allah, I swear by that God who has sent thee the Quran, that I shall not break my fast until I have combated the infidels with my sword' Nu'man B. Malek said: 'The cow which thou hast seen killed in a dream implies that I am one of the companions who will be slain. I swear by that God, besides whom there is no other, that I shall enter paradise' His lordship asked 'For what reason?' He continued: 'Because I loved God and His apostle, and because I shall not turn away my face from the unbelievers on the battle-field' His lordship said. 'Thou hast spoken the truth.' And, in fact, Nu'man attained martyrdom in the battle of Ohod. In the manner just narrated also many young companions of the apostle advised him to sally forth, and although they afterwards [themselves] lagged behind, they now made great effort to accomplish that object. His holy and prophetic lordship was therefore under the necessity to march out from Madinah against his own will and inclination, and to fight the infidels. After he had finished his afternoon prayers on the above-mentioned Friday, he retired to his private apartment, where Saddyq and Fârûq joined that prince, arranged the turban on his blessed head, and put the cuirass on his sacred body. On that occasion a great multitude of people were drawn up in

front of the chamber, waiting for his noble approach. Sa'd B. Moa'adh and Asyd B. Khadzyr said: 'Do not make any efforts or urgent solicitations to cause the apostle to march out from Madinah, for he loathes to do so. As at present orders are descending to him from heaven, you must leave the reins of choice in the grasp of his lordship's power, and you must not withdraw your feet from the circle of obedience to him.' At that moment his lordship the apostle stepped out from the house dressed as he was in his coat-of-mail, and girded with a belt of perfumed goat-skin. A sword hung by his side, a lance was in his hand, and a shield on his blessed shoulder. When the companions beheld the prophet thus attired, they repented of having solicited him to march out, and said: 'O apostle of Allah, it is not our intention to induce thee to do anything against thy will. Act according to thy own pleasure.' His lordship said: 'I first told you so, and you would not hear. It is, however, unworthy of a prophet's character again to divest himself of his arms after taking them up, until God the Most High decides between him and his enemies. Act, therefore, as I tell you. March forth in the name of Allah the Most High, for the victory is yours if you be steadfast.' It is said that O'mayr Bokhâry died on that day, and his bier having been brought for [funeral] prayers to be recited over it, his lordship held them when he came out from his apartment. Then he asked for three lances, and made banners of them, handing the standard of the Awus to Sa'd B. A'bâdah, the banner of the Khazraj to Habbâb B. Almundher, and the flag of the Mohâjer, which belonged to his lordship, he bestowed upon A'li B. Abu Tâleb—u. w. b.—and according to a certain tradition he marched towards Ohod, after having appointed Mossa'b B. O'mayr and A'bdullah B. Maktûm his lieutenants in Madinah.

Wâqidi says that on the march to Ohod Judal B. Sorâqah hastened to wait upon his lordship, and exclaimed: 'O apostle of Allah, I have truly been told that I shall be killed to-morrow.' Whilst uttering this prediction he

vented his deep grief by a mournful sigh. The apostle placed his blessed hand on the man's breast, and said: 'Is not our whole existence in this world an affliction?' As the army of Islâm was marching it arrived in the place Sheykhyin [two old men], where the vision of his lordship the best of men—which had the wonderful property of alchemy to change all things to gold—alighted on a *Keniseh*,[283] from which sounds of lamentation were issuing. He therefore asked: 'Who are they?' And the reply was: 'Friends and allies of A'bdullah Salûl.' Whereon his lordship uttered with his wonderfully eloquent tongue the words: 'Do not look at the idolaters.' In that place he held a review of the troops, allowed the children of the companions to return on account of their immature age, and halted during that night in the locality. Muhammad B. Moslamah kept watch over the Musalmâns with fifty men. Then the army of Islam again marched, reaching Anjâr at daybreak, where the morning prayers were held. Here his lordship put on another cuirass, in which he dressed himself alone. From this place also A'bdullah [Salûl] returned with three hundred of his followers, and though A'bdullah B. O'mayr B. Huzâm followed him to dissuade him from such a step, it was of no use. Ebn Abu Salûl said: 'We have dealt honestly in our advice and consultation, but Muhammad would not listen to our words, and is following the instigation of young men and boys. We shall aid and assist him when he is in our town.' When the hypocritical A'bdullah Abu Salûl was about to return with all the false people to the streets of Madinah. A'bdullah B. O'mayr said: 'May Allah the Most High destroy you! God will soon make His apostle independent of your aid.' After saying these words he departed and rejoined the army. As soon as the apostle of God had completed his matutinal prayers he arranged the lines of the army, which stood so that it had Madinah in its front,

[283] This word is a corruption of the Greek and Latin word *ecclesia*, and is generally used for denoting a Christian church. In the above passage it is intended to mean only 'an assembly' in a general sense.

the mountain of Qhod in its rear, and the pass of A'yn on its left. There was a gorge in Mount Ghabyb, where it was feared that the idolaters might have an ambuscade, and rush therefrom upon the Musalmâns. Accordingly his lordship the refuge of termination appointed A'bdullah B. Jobyr with fifty archers to impede anyone else from occupying that position. He also ordered them by no means to abandon it, whether the Musalmâns be the conquerors or the conquered, nor to move from that place except on the receipt of orders. His lordship appointed A'kashah B. Mohsin Asdy Taryn to take command of the right wing of the army, Abu Moslamah B. A'bdullah Makhzûmy to take that of the left, Abu O'baydah Jurrâh and Sa'd B. Woqqâss of the van, and Moqdâd B. Amru of the rear. The Qoraish had likewise drawn up their army in battle array, entrusting Khâled B. Wolyd with the command of the right, and A'kramah B. Abu Jahl with that of the left wing. A'bdullah B. Ra'byah was the captain of the archers, who amounted to the number of one hundred. They gave the banner to Ttolhah B. Abu Ttolhah, who was also named Kysh-Kabshah, and he was the namesake of Ttolhah B. A'bdullah B. Alu'zza. It is said that when his lordship had been informed that the banner [of command] had been conferred on the Bani A'bdu-d-dâr, he said: 'You have done what we expected,' and gave his own banner to Mossa'b B. O'mayr.

When both armies stood opposite to each other in battle array, the first man who placed his foot into the plain of contention was Abu A'amer, who began with fifty of his friends to pour a rain of arrows upon the professors of Islâm, and shouted: 'I am Abu A'amer!' But they replied: 'No welcome to thee, O wretch!' Some slaves of the Qoraish had also arrived, and were throwing stones towards the Musalmâns. The warriors of the religion then shot their arrows against Abu A'amer and his friends, putting them to flight.

It is related that when the apostle of God came out from Mekkah, Abu A'amer asked him: 'What religion is it thou

hast brought?' His lordship replied: 'It is the orthodox religion.' Abu A'amer continued: 'There are some things in it which are not so.' His lordship retorted: 'What are they, O liar!' This sentence of his lordship was confirmed, because at last that unfortunate and wicked man surrendered his soul, alone and forsaken in Greece, to the lord of the infernal regions.

In short, on that day the wives of the idolaters advanced to the front of the ranks, beating their drums, and mentioning the names of those who had been slain at Bedr; thus encouraging the men to fight, and afterwards retiring to the rear. Then the unbelievers began to pour a shower of arrows upon the army of Islâm, and all the troopers who had been opposite to the archers retreated. On that occasion Ttolhah B. Ttolhah, who was the standard-bearer of the infidels, placed the foot of temerity into the plain of challenge and shouted for a champion. Accordingly A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—the lion of the battle-field, from the fear of whose blood-dripping sword the constellation Leo could find no rest in the firmament, and whose condition is portrayed in the following distich of Firdausi.

In body a living elephant, in soul a Jebrâil,
In fight an Ahriman, and in heart the river Nile,

sallied forth towards him like a vernal torrent precipitating itself from a mountain into a valley, and struck down Ttolhah with one blow on the head. After that A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—returned and again took his position in the lines. His friends asked him: 'Why hast thou not killed Ttolhah all at once?' A'li replied: 'When he fell his parts were exposed, and a regard for decency, which generated pity, forbade me to do so. At the same time I knew that God the Most High would soon destroy him.' According to another tradition, A'li—u. w. b.—the Commander of the Faithful, went up to Ttolhah and chopped off his leg with one blow, whereon he asked for quarter, and A'li, the source of noble-heartedness, granted it, but one of the Musalmâns killed him. His lordship the apostle rejoiced at the death of Ttolhah, shouted the Takbir

[magnification]; the Musalmâns did the same, making successive onslaughts upon the idolaters and breaking the ranks of the enemy.

Wâqidi says that when Ttolhah was killed O'thmân B. Abu Ttolhah took up the standard of the Qoraish and came forward. The women of the enemy were in the rear, beating drums and instigating the idolaters to fight. On that occasion Hamzah B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb attacked O'thmân by shooting an arrow at his throat, so that his tongue hung out from his mouth. There is a tradition that Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss said: 'When Abu Sa'yd Abu Ttolhah took up the standard, I wanted to kill him, and chopped off his right hand, but Abu Sa'yd grasped the standard with his left, and I separated it from his body with another blow of my sword. Then he fixed the banner on his breast and I gave him another blow, from which he died. When I set about to plunder him, a number of the Bani A'bd A'wuf approached me with Yemen swords, and would not allow me to execute my design.' Wâqidi assures us that this latter tradition is the most correct. When Abu Sa'yd departed to hell, Monâfi' B. Ttolhah caught hold of the banner, whereon A'assum Thabet shot an arrow at him which nearly killed him. The idolaters then took up Monâfi' and carried him to his mother, Solâqah, who asked her son: 'Who struck thee with this arrow?' He replied: 'A'assum.' Hereon Solâqah made a vow that she would drink wine from the skull of A'assum, promising one hundred camels to anyone who would bring it to her. When Monâfi' was killed, his brother, Hâreth B. Ttolhah, took up the standard, and was likewise driven into non-existence by an arrow of A'assum. When Hâreth was killed his brother Kelâb B. Ttolhah, took possession of the standard, but fell by the hand of Zobayr B. Ala'wwâm. Then Khadash B. Ttolhah held up the flag, but he was despatched by Ttolhah B. A'bdullah. Then Abattâth B. Shorahbyl supplanted him, but was made to join his friends by A'li Murtadza—u. w. b. The task of holding up the flag then devolved upon Sharyh B. Qassad, who was

likewise killed by one of the Musalmâns. Some allege that A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—despatched him, whilst others ascribe that act to Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, but the first statement is the correct one.

Wâqidi says that Qorbân, who was a hypocrite, had kept aloof from the illustrious attendance upon the Musstafa —u. w. b.—and had remained in Madinah. The day after that prince had marched away the women of his tribe reproached Qorbân, and added: 'Sit down in the house like a woman!' These words made him so angry that he armed himself, departed to Ohod, and reached the army of Islâm just when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. —was drawing it up in battle array. He took up his position in the foremost line, and was the first man who shot an arrow from the side of the Musalmâns at the idolaters. Afterwards he fought so valiantly that he killed several infidels, and he was nearly expiring from the numerous wounds he had received. Qobâdah B. Nu'mân approached him, and said: 'O Ab-al-fydâq, may the beverage of martyrdom taste sweet to thee!' He replied: 'I did not fight for the cause of God, but I fought because I was unwilling that the Qoraish should obtain possession of a single leaf from our date-groves.' As he suffered much from his wounds, he placed the point of his sword on his own breast, leaning against it with great force, so that he died, and whenever the apostle of God—u. w. b.—mentioned him he said: 'Qorbân is a denizen of hell.' But the *Hadith* [*i.e.*, sacred tradition] of his lordship contains the words: 'Verily God will aid these countries by means of a wicked man.' It is related that on the day of Ohod his lordship the apostle held a sabre in his august hand, on which the words were written: 'Cowardice is disgraceful, but courage is noble. No coward can escape his doom.' During the battle he asked: 'Who will take this sword from me and will make good use of it?' Then a number of the companions wished to receive it, but he complied with the requests of none of them. Therefore, Abu Dujjânah, the Anssâri, who stands in need of no description,

asked for the sword, and received it. Then he walked proudly into the fight, and his lordship said: 'This is a kind of walk which God the Most High hates everywhere, except in this place, namely, the battle-field.' On that day Abu Dujjânah, the Anssâri, fought bravely, and vanquished everyone he encountered. At the foot of the mountain he arrived close to Hind, the mother of Moa'wiah, who was with a number of other women beating drums, chanting songs, and lamenting most frightfully. He had an impulse to strike her at once with his sabre, but recollecting himself, he exclaimed: 'It would be a pity to defile the sword of the prophet with the blood of a woman.' Meanwhile, however, a calamity befell the watchmen of the army of Islâm, which happened as follows: Khâled B. Wolyd had, during the melée, several times attempted to attack and dislodge the post in command of A'bdullah Jobyr, who, with his valiant archers, guarded a certain pass. He was every time repelled and disappointed, but

Distich He will gain his object
Who braves every danger.

When the image-worshippers had begun to flee, and the noble companions were engaged in collecting the booty, the friends of A'bdullah Jobyr became impatient and advanced, in spite of his entreaties and the orders of the prophet, to the battle-field to engage in the same operation, so that only five or six men remained with him. Khâled B. Wolyd made use of this opportunity to hasten, with A'kramah B. Abu Jahl and a number of other idolaters, to attack and to kill A'bdullah and his companions. Emboldened by this feat of theirs, they abandoned the pass of concealment, advanced into the plain of temerity, reached the Musalmâns, attacked and greatly disconcerted them. The receptacles of Satanic inspiration then shouted in every direction: 'Muhammad is killed!' which news so confused the army of Islam that its lines were broken, and in their distress the people attacked each other with their swords. When the infidels perceived their confusion, they were emboldened to attack the Musalmâns. Satan made his appearance in the

form of Ebn Soráqah, and was about to be killed by the Musalmâns, because he had thrice exclaimed: 'Verily Muhammad is slain!' Khoyttab B. Jobyr, however, and Abu Haryrah have borne witness that every time the voice of the said herald was heard he [*i.e.*, Ebn Soraqah] was quietly standing by their side, and that therefore his life was spared.

It is reported that after many onslaughts of the idolaters some Musalmâns had fled, and others had been killed, but that his holy and prophetic lordship pressed the foot of permanency and did not leave the battle-field. It is recorded in the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* that fourteen of his companions remained with that model of attachment, namely, seven Anssâr, and as many Mohâjer, as follows: A'li the Commander of the Faithful, Abu Bakr, A'bdu-r-rahman A'wuf, Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, Ttolhah, Zobayr and Abu O'baidah Jurrah. Of the Anssâr, Habbâb B. Almundher, Abu Dujjânah, A'assum B. Thâbet, Hareth B. Sohayl, Asyd B. Khodzayr, Sa'd B. A'bâdah, and Muhammad B. Moslamah. Every one of these men warded off a number of idolaters, but, in spite of the multitude of enemies, no ill befell them by the grace of Allah the Most High and Glorious. It is true that on the said day many angels were present, but they did not fight. It is said that Jebrâil and Mykâyl were in the form of two men robed in white, standing on the right and left of his lordship the apostle for protection. His lordship the apostle was sometimes warding off the enemies with stones, and sometimes with arrows.

It is related of A'li—u. w. b.—the Commander of the Faithful that he said: 'When the idolaters prevailed over the professors of Islâm, the latter were quite mixed up, and though I looked about I could not perceive his lordship the prophet, so I said to myself: "He is not a man who would flee from the battle-field at the approach of the enemy, nor is he among the slain. Probably the Lord Most High and Glorious has become incensed at some of our crimes, and translated His favourite to heaven; therefore it will be

best for us to fight the enemy and to be killed [likewise]." Accordingly I brandished my scimitar and rushed on our foes. After having dispersed them I beheld the apostle among the dead, prostrate in a hole, and I knew that God the Most High had protected him.'

It is reported that when the idol-worshippers sallied out from their ambush, and made such an onslaught upon the professors of Islâm that they were overcome by its violence and fled, his lordship the apostle was incensed with wrath—and whenever he was angry the perspiration flowed from his august forehead like bright pearls—and perceiving A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—standing by his side, he exclaimed: 'O A'li, how is it that thou hast not joined the others [in the fight]?' The model of the saints replied: 'Verily thou art my example.' We read, however, in some accounts that A'li asked: 'Infidelity after Faith?' Meanwhile a number of idolaters were approaching his lordship the apostle, and he exclaimed: 'A'li, take care of me!' Therefore the lion of attack dispersed with his Dhu-l-fiqâr a legion of infidels, who were compact like the Pleiads, but he scattered them about like the stars of Ursa Major. After that another crowd rushed at the Mussttafa, but A'li warded it off again. Then Jebrâil said: 'A'li has acted towards thee with perfect devotedness and bravery.' The prophet replied: 'Verily I belong to him, and he belongs to me.' Jebrâil concluded: 'I belong to you both.' While A'li was thus displaying his prowess, a voice was heard saying: 'There is no champion like A'li, and no sabre like the Dhu-l-fiqâr!'

In the *Khashafu-l-ghummah* it is recorded that when the Musalmans fled from the onslaught of the infidels the apostle of Allah perceived A'li standing by his side, and exclaimed: 'Ali, why hast thou not accompanied thy friends?' A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—replied: 'How could I leave thee alone? I swear by Allah that I shall not go one step farther. I shall either be killed, or see the promise of victory made to thee by God the Most High fulfilled.' His lordship replied: 'O A'li, God keeps His promises!' Meanwhile he perceived a number of idolaters coming

towards him, and exclaimed: 'A'li, ward off the evil intention of this company from me.' Accordingly the lion of God drew his sword, attacked them, killing Heshâm B. Ommyah and putting the rest to flight. After that another crowd approached the apostle, which he likewise attacked at a signal from the apostle of God, and of those miserable fellows O'mm B. A'bdullah Alhajamy was despatched to hell by the sword of the lion of valour, the rest being put to flight. Then another multitude desired to injure the holy essence of his lordship the best of men; but A'li the Commander of the Faithful rushed at the opponents, felled Bashyr B. Mâlek A'amer to the ground, driving off the rest, so after that no one had any longer the temerity to approach the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.

There is a tradition of A'kramah that he said: 'I heard A'li, the son of Abu Tâleb, say: "When the companions of his lordship the apostle ran away from the battle-field, I was so overpowered by fear and grief that I lost the bridle of self-possession from my hand, beginning to fight in front of his lordship. When, however, I glanced to my rear, I no longer perceived his lordship, therefore I fancied he had departed to heaven, and the grief of being separated from him impelled me to break the scabbard of my sabre, to court death, and to rush upon the enemies. When, however, they had dispersed, I saw the apostle, who had fallen down. He looked at me, and asked: "What have the people done?" I replied: "They have left their ranks and fled, leaving thee alone." At that time a number of the enemy were just approaching, and he said: "A'li, keep these men off from me!" Accordingly I struck the idolaters right and left till they went away.'

It is said that during the battle the sabre of A'li broke, and that he informed his lordship the prophet—u. w. b.—of the fact, whereon the latter presented him with the Dhu-l-fiqâr.

In the *Khashafu-l-ghummah* it is related that when A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—was engaged in warding off the infidels, his lordship said:- 'O A'li, hearest thou the praise

which the angel called Radzuwân *is singing* in heaven to thy name, and who is saying: "There is no hero like A'li, and no sword like the *Dhu-l-fiqâr*"? Then the Commander of the Faithful said: "I wept for joy and gladness, thanking God."' In some books it is related that on this dreadful day Khâled B. Alwolyd came out from the ambush, approached the army of Islâm, and, perceiving no one near his prophetic lordship, shouted to the idolaters: 'Catch this man, for they are seeking him.' The infidels were fighting with arrows, swords, and lances, the companions fled, and only A'li the Commander of the Faithful, with Abu Dujjânah, were with the prophet, who had swooned away. When he recovered himself, he asked: 'A'li, what have the people done?' He replied: 'They have broken their allegiance, and have run away.' His lordship continued: 'Serve out the crowd which is approaching me.' Accordingly the Lion of God drew his sword, rushed upon the enemies, put them to flight, and returned to his lordship the prince of apostles and guide of the way. There he beheld another crowd approaching his lordship, which he likewise dispersed. Whilst his lordship the Commander of the Faithful was fighting with the infidels, Abu Dujjânah and Sahal were standing near the head of the apostle watching him. According to some traditions [Allah, however, knows best] Zayd B. Asyd Wohob asked A'bdullah B. Masu'd: 'I have heard that on the day of Ohod nobody had remained near the prophet except A'li, Abu Dujjânah and Sahal B. Hanyf, and that after one hour A'assum B. Thâbet and Ttolhah B. Thâbet came and girded their loins to wait upon his lordship the best of men. Is that true?' He replied: 'Yes.' He further asked: 'Where were Abu Bakr and O'mar?' He said: 'They had also gone away and were on the third day after that battle exalted by coming to attend upon his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—whereon the prophet said: "Verily you have refreshed yourselves abroad"'[284]

[284] These are evidently Shiah traditions, by which A'li is extolled as far superior to anybody else.

Muhammad B. Esahâq states that the following idolaters fell by the hand of A'li, namely, Ttolhah B. Abu Ttolhah, surnamed Kysh-Kabshah, whose death his lordship had predicted from the interpretation of a portion of a dream. The second was his son A'bdullah Abu Jabal; further Ebn Abu-l-hukm and Wolyd Abu Kudayfah B. Moghirah, with his brother Jabal B. Jabal, and Heshâm B. Ommyah, and A'mru B. Ab'dullahy Hajmy, and Mâlek B. Bashyr, and Ssowâb the freed man of the Bani A'bdu-d-dar.

Hâfez Abrû and Abu Muhammad B. Ala'zyz have, in the books *Mu'alumu-l-a'thrat* and *An-nabauuat* recorded a tradition of Marfuu' B. Qays B. Sa'd, who heard his father say: 'A'li the Commander of the Faithful spoke as follows: "On the day of Ohod I received sixteen wounds, so that I fell to the ground. Every time I had been prostrated a man of pleasant aspect and odour raised me up, and said: 'Attack the infidels, for thou art the first in obedience to God and the apostle; both are pleased with thee.' When the battle was ended I reported these words to his lordship, and asked: 'Knowest thou him?' He said: 'No; but he resembles the ape-dog.' His lordship then added: 'May God enlighten thy vision! he was Jebrail.'"' Muhammad B. Ahabyb related in his *Amâl* that when the bulk of the enemies of Islâm fled, numbers from the infidel army rushed at the apostle of Allah like the waves of the sea: and of these nearly fifty troopers of the Bani A'bd Menâf, with the sons of Ssafuwân, A'wuf, Khâled, Abu-l-abad, Abu-l-humrah, and six other individuals of the children of Sofyân, approached the prophet, but A'li Murtadza sent them all with his bright scimitar to the abode of perdition. Some writers of biographies have recorded that the prophet said: 'What is to hinder me from belonging to him, and him to me?' and that Jebrâil said: 'I belong to you both.' On that day a voice, the speaker whereof was invisible, was heard coming from heaven, and frequently uttering the words: 'There is no hero like A'li, and no sabre like Dhu-l-fiqâr.' The apostle of God, having been informed of this, said: 'That is

Jebrâil!' The narrator of this tradition says: 'This information is a celebrated one, inasmuch as all the narrators of traditions agree about the correctness thereof I have met with it in some copies of Muhammad B. Esahâq's *Almaghâzy*, but some do not contain it, therefore I asked Sheikh A'bdu-l-wahâb—A. h. m. o. h.—about this information, and he averred it to be true. I further inquired what the characteristic of correctness was, and he replied: "What is corrected is trustworthy, and is consigned to books, and correctness implies authentic information."' It is related of his lordship A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—that he said 'On the day of Ohod, I and Abu Dujjânah and Sa'd Abu Woqqâss, each of us going in another direction, were engaged in repelling the infidels, until God the Most High would grant us victory. On that occasion I saw a number of the Qoraish, among whom was also A'kramah B. Abu Jahl. I attacked them, and continued fighting, till I penetrated into the lines of the infidels; and having come out from them, I again returned the same way I had come, leaving the enemy without receiving any hurt, because my predestined day had not yet arrived; wherefore no calamity befell me in that battle.'

It is related that before the Flight Dhakuwân B. A'bd Qays Al-dzâry came from Madinah to Mekkah, and was made happy by being allowed to wait on his holy and prophetic lordship. When the latter fled to Madinah, Dhakuwan kept up his former acquaintance, and was present at the Ghazwah of Bedr, as has been recorded above. Concerning him the prophet and best of men said. 'Let anyone desirous of seeing a man walking in the green meadows of paradise look at Dhakuwan.' In short, when the professors of Islam marched to Ohod, he took leave of his wives and daughters, whereon they exclaimed: 'O Dhakuwan, when shall we have the happiness to see thee again?' He replied: 'On the day of the resurrection.' When the opposing armies met, he fought till he attained martyrdom. On that day his holy and prophetic lordship asked: 'Is there anyone who knows what has become of

Dhakuwân?' A'li the Commander of the Faithful said: 'O apostle of Allah, I beheld a rider following in his rear, and saying to him: "May I not be saved if thou art saved!" then he struck him with his sword from the rear, saying: "Take this blow from me!" I pursued the man and cut his thigh with my sabre, severing it from his body. Then I threw him down from his horse and finished him; and, looking at him, I found him to be Akhnas B. Sharyq.'

It is related that on the day of Ohod four of the idolaters conspired to kill his lordship the refuge of termination, namely, A'bdullah B. Qamyah, O'tbah B. Abu Woqqâss, A'bdullah Shohâb Zonkry, and Abu B. Khuluf. Some allege that A'bdullah B. Hamyd Asady was [also] of their number. Ebn Qamyah threw so many stones at his lordship that he wounded his blessed countenance; drops of blood appeared on it, and when they began to trickle down his moustache, his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—wiped them with his most pure *Redâ*, saying: 'How can people live who deal thus with their prophet, who is inviting them to Allah, whose name be glorified!' Then Jebrâil brought down the verse 'It matters not to thee whether He forgives or punishes them, for they are unrighteous.'[285] In some traditions it is related that when on the day of Ohod blood was flowing from the wound of the apostle—u. w. b.—his lordship wiped it with his pure *Redâ*, and did not allow one drop of blood thereof to fall to the ground. After that he exclaimed: 'O God, pardon my people, for they know not [what they do].' Nâfi' B. Jobyr relates as follows: 'One of the Mohâjer said to me: "On the day of Ohod the idol-worshippers were shooting arrows at the apostle—u. w. b. —from all directions, but God the Most High protected His favourite." On that occasion Abdullah Shohâb exclaimed: "Point out to me Muhammad, and I shall not remain safe if he remain safe." As he was uttering these words the apostle—u. w. b.—stood by his side, and when he passed by Ssafuwân B. Ommyah asked him: "As God has given Muhammad into thy power, hast thou done anything to

[285] Qurân, ch. iii. 123.

him?" Ebn Shohâb replied: "I swear by Allah that I have not seen him, and therefore he remained unscathed of anything I could do to him."' It is related that O tbah B. Abu Woqqâss threw a stone at his lordship, which struck the nether lip, and broke two of his front teeth, and though his brother Sa'd searched for him on the whole battle-field to retaliate upon him, he could not find him. Some authors of biographies relate that on the said day the accursed Ebn Qamyah struck the apostle with his sabre, so that on account of the blow from that wicked man, and the weight of two cuirasses which were on his lordship's body, that prince fell down, but Ebn Qamyah disappeared from the eyes of men, and Satan exclaimed on the battle-field: 'Verily Muhammad has been killed,' so that this dreadful rumour was propagated even in Madinah, where the Musalmâns became distressed and embarrassed. Abu Sofyân believed the words of Satan, and asked: 'O ye Qoraish, who of you has killed Muhammad?' Ebn Qamyah said: 'I have killed him!' Abu Sofyân continued: 'We shall make thee ride in procession, in the same manner as the Persians mount their champions.' Thereon Abu A'amer and the wicked Abu Sofyân betook themselves to the battle-field to verify the assertion of Ebn Qamyah, and near every dead body at which they stopped A'amer gave some information to Abu Sofyân, saying: 'This is such and such a man of the Awus or of the Khazraj.' But when he perceived that his own son Hanttalah *Ghusylu-l-malâykah*[286] was among the slain, he stopped near his head, and said: 'This man was the one I loved most among the people. He is my son Hanttalah.' Waqidi narrates that about the same time Hanttalah had just married Jamylah, the daughter of Abu Salûl, and that he had, by the permission of his lordship the refuge of termination—u w. b.—paid a visit on the eve of the battle to his wife, and had connection with her. When Hanttalah was about to take leave and to rejoin the army of Islâm at Ohod, Jamylah brought four

[286] *I.e.*, 'laved by angels.' This epithet will be explained farther on.

men and requested Hanttalah to bear witness to them that he had deflowered her. Being asked for the reason of this proceeding, she said: 'Last night I dreamt that there was an opening in the sky, by which Hanttalah entered. After that the firmament assumed its former shape. My interpretation of this dream is that Hanttalah will attain martyrdom. Therefore I have brought several witnesses that they may hear from his own mouth of what Hanttalah has done to me' In fine, when it was morning Hanttalah put on his armour, proceeded to Ohod to join the Musalmâns, and arrived at the battle-field just when his lordship was engaged in drawing up the army in lines, and at that very hour he also attained martyrdom. Afterwards his lordship said: 'I saw Hanttalah B. Abu A'amer being washed in mid-air [by angels].' Abu Asad Saa'dy says 'I approached Hanttalah, and saw water dripping from his head I returned and acquainted his lordship with the strange phenomenon, and on our return to Madinah he sent a person to his relict [to make inquiries on the subject]. She said: "In his great anxiety to join the Musalmans he left me before performing the usual ablutions, and hastened to the battle-field." For this reason he became afterwards known by the name of "Hanttalah whom the angels had washed."' When Abu Sofyân examined the corpses at Ohod, he was unable to find the body of the prophet among their number, and became convinced that the assertion of Ebn Qamyah was false In biographical works it is related that the just-named accursed individual had thrown a stone at his lordship, but that the prophet uttered a prayer in regard to the five men who had made a covenant to slay him, to the effect that they might not survive the end of the year. Therefore some were killed in the battle of Ohod, and the rest of them hastened during the same year to the infernal regions. A'bdullah B. Hamyd also ran to his lordship on the day of Ohod, but Abu Dujjanah struck him suddenly with his bright scimitar, sending him with one blow to the abode of perdition. After the return of the idolaters to Mekkah, Ebn Qamyah was one day walking by

himself on the top of a mountain, when a ram approached him by Divine command, and butted with such force against his abdomen with its horns that they issued from his throat, and he surrendered his soul to the possessors of hell. The affair, however, of Ebn Khuluf is as follows: He was one of the prisoners at Bedr, and as he wished to ransom himself, his lordship allowed him to depart to Mekkah. But before starting, the impudent fellow said to the seal of prophets—u. w. b.: 'I have a horse, which I shall feed with millet till it gets fat. Then I shall mount it, sally forth against thee, and hasten to kill thee.' His lordship replied: 'On the contrary, I shall kill thee whilst thou wilt be riding the horse, if it so pleaseth God the Most High.' On the day of Ohod his lordship said to his companions: 'I am not sure whether A'bu B. Khuluf will not come unawares When you perceive him, inform me.' Towards the end of the battle A'bu B. Khuluf actually made his appearance on his horse, and seeing his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b—he addressed insulting words to him. Therefore some of his companions said: 'O apostle of Allah, if thou wilt permit, we shall attack him.' His lordship, however, would not allow them to do so, and when the accursed fellow had approached near enough, the prophet took a javelin from the hand of Zobeyr, threw it towards him, struck him in his neck, and although it merely scratched it a little, he immediately turned his horse, joined his people, leapt from his horse, and bellowed like an ox, so that the idolaters asked: 'Why this lamentation? The wound on thy neck is nothing but a scratch!' Abu Bin Khuluf rejoined: 'Do you know whose blow it is? I shall not survive this wound, for Muhammad has promised to kill me, and his word suffers no contradiction.' Thus he groaned and moaned, and before the idolaters had reached Mekkah he surrendered his soul to the demons in the locality named Mararû-dz-dzahrân. It is related that Ebn Qamyah attacked his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—with his sword, and that the hand of Ttolhah B. A'bdullah, with which he warded off the blows from his holiness, became disabled.

There is a tradition that when Ttolhah was asked about the cause of the immovable state of his fingers, he replied : ' In the battle of Ohod Mâlek B. Dzahyr, whose arrow never missed, shot one of them at his lordship the apostle, whom I shielded with my hand, but my middle-finger was hit, and it became immovable.'

When his prophetic lordship fell into a hole, as has already been recorded above, his blessed feet were scratched, and he was unable to rise again on account of the weight of the two cuirasses which he had on his body. Therefore Ttolhah B. A'bdullah assisted him, so that he rose from the ground; but as he was again, on account of his wounds and the heaviness of the coats of mail, unable to mount further, Ttolhah sat down, and that prince stepped upon the back of Ttolhah, whereupon A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—took hold of his blessed hand, pulling him up from the hole.

Waqidi says that on the day of Ohod Ttolhah fought with great valour and according to the best of his ability. When the idolaters surrounded the prophet—u. w. b.—he struck them right and left till he put them to flight. Afterwards his holy and prophetic lordship said concerning him: ' If anyone desires to see a man living on earth, although he is a denizen of paradise, let him look at Ttolhah B. A'bdullah.'

Waqidi says that on the day of Ohod the following men were also among the archers: Sa'd B. Abu Woqqass, and Abu Ttolhah, the Anssari, and A'assum B. Thabet, and Ssayb B. Motta'wun, and Moqdad B. A'mru, and Zayd B. Hareth, and Khattub B. Abu Balyghah, and O'tbah B. Ghazuwân, and Haras B. Alnadzyr, and Qottibah B. A'amer B. Jadylah, and Bashyr B. Burâdah, and Abu Nâylah, and Qobâdah B. Nu'man. It is said that during the height of the contest an arrow struck the eye of Qobâdah, so that the ball came out and was dangling over his cheek. He immediately waited upon the prince of existences—u. w. b.—and said: ' I have a wife at home whom I love exceedingly, and she reciprocates my affec-

tion; but I fear when she beholds the socket of my eye in this condition she will be displeased.' His lordship the prince of the righteous took pity on his condition, and reset the eyeball in its place with his miracle-operating hand, whereon it recovered its original state. It is related that in his old age Qobâdah asserted that eye to have been more serviceable than the other.

It is recorded that on the day of Ohod a number of idolaters were constantly shooting arrows at the professors of Islâm, and that Janân B. Alu'rwah was, with his brother Mâlek B. Zohayr, more assiduously engaged in that business than all the others, and was injuring the Musalmâns. Therefore his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—ordered Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss to stand opposite to the archers and to shoot at them. He immediately complied, whereon his lordship exclaimed: 'Well done, Sa'd! may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee!' That very moment Janân B. Alu'rwah shot an arrow, which happened to strike the skirts of the robe of Omm Ayman, the chambermaid of the apostle of God, who was just engaged in serving out water to the wounded. She was, however, so frightened that she fell to the ground, and a portion of her body was uncovered. His lordship, being displeased with what had taken place, handed an arrow without a point to Sa'd to shoot it at Janân. Sa'd acted as he was bid, and struck therewith the breast of Janân, so that he fell on his back, and the same spot [as of the chambermaid] became naked. Sa'd says: 'The apostle—u. w. b.—laughed so heartily that I saw his blessed *nowâjed*.' This word is the plural of *nâjed*, and means, according to grammarians, the small teeth. Everyone, however, who has a particle of sense will understand that Sa'd used a hyperbole, because his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—never laughed so as to cause his blessed back teeth to become visible. In short, his lordship said with reference to Sa'd: 'May God answer thy prayer!' and the arrow of prayer having struck the target of response the wish of Sa'd was fulfilled. It is said that Abu Ttolhah, the Anssari, was an

extremely skilled archer, and had a powerful voice. On the battle-field he shielded his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—took out his arrows from the quiver, and poured them on the ground; and whenever he shot an arrow he made a noise, shouting: 'O apostle of Allah, my life for thy life! May God make me a sacrifice for thee!' His lordship stood in his rear, watching where the arrows were spent. The author of these lines says that if he had been present on that day he would have said to the apostle of the latter days:

Distich I wish I were an arrow, that
Occasionally thou mayest look at me.

When the arrows of Abu Ttolhah had all been expended his lordship picked up a stick from the ground, handing it to him, and when he placed it on the bow that stick became a good arrow, which he then shot against the enemy. On that day his lordship said: 'The voice of Ttolhah was more valuable than forty men of the army.'

Waqidi says that on the day of Ohod an arrow struck Abudarz Ghuffâri, and that when his lordship had thrown some saliva from his blessed mouth upon the wound it became immediately well. Muhammad B. Sarkhyl has a tradition from his own father to the effect that when on the day of Ohod the Musalmâns began to flee, Mossa'b B. O'mayr, who bore the standard of the Mohâjer, remained stationary. On that occasion E. Qamyah approached him and cut off his hand with one blow of his sabre. Then Mossa'b took the banner into his left hand, exclaiming: 'Alas for Muhammad! Is not he the prophet who was preceded by others?' But that accursed wretch severed Mossa'b's left hand, who repeated the above expression, and fixed with his two [stumps of the] arms the standard on his breast, whereon that black-hearted dog pierced his breast with a spear, so as to disable him. It is said that the above expression [or verse] had not yet been revealed, but that he uttered it by Divine command. When the banner fell to the ground two Musalmâns, *i.e.*, Sowytt B. Huzymah and Abu-r-rumah, the brother of Mossa'b, intended to take

it up, but the former forestalled his companion and succeeded in executing his intention. In some traditions, however, it is related that when Mossa'b was exalted to the dignity of a martyr, Allah the Most High and Glorious despatched an angel in human form to be the standard-bearer of the apostle, who said at the end of the day of battle to him: 'Approach, O Mossa'b;' but the angel replied: 'I am not Mossa'b.' Then his lordship knew him to be a celestial spirit in human shape, who was, by order of the Creator of the pious and the impious, taking care of the banner. After that Abu-r-rumah hastened forward, and preceded the apostle of Allah on the return march until they arrived in Madinah.

Wâqidi says: 'On that day A'bdu-r-rahman B. Abu Bakr entered the lists, and asked for a champion. Accordingly Abu Bakr Ssiddyq drew his sword and sallied out to fight him [his own son] in single combat; but his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—exclaimed: "Sheath thy sabre, return to thy place, and defend us with thy life."'

It is related that when the apostle of Allah was about to march to the pass of Ohod, O'thmân B. A'bdullah B. Moghirah Makhzûmy, being fully armed, mounted a piebald horse, and, hastening after his lordship, shouted: 'Thou canst not save thyself—thou canst not save thyself!' All of a sudden, however, the foot of the accursed fellow's horse sank into one of the holes which the wicked Abu A'amer had dug to distress the army of Islâm, and he was projected to the ground. Thereon Hâreth struck his leg with a sword, disabled, and slaughtered him like a sheep, appropriating to himself the cuirass and helmet of O'thmân, both of which were extremely costly. The writer of these lines says that there is no evidence of any booty having on that day fallen into the hands of the Musalmâns, except the accoutrements of O'thmân. When the apostle of Allah heard that he had been slain, he exclaimed: 'Thanks be to God, who has humbled him.' After O'thmân, O'bayd B. Hajar A'amery attacked Hâreth like a wild beast, but

Abu Dujjânah threw him upon the ground and cut his throat like that of a sheep, and the meaning 'whether the truth prevails or not' was made evident on that day. It is related that on the said day Mâlek B. Zohayr Khoshmy was shooting arrows from behind a rock at the Musalmâns and wounding many of them. Once, however, the unhallowed head of that man became visible in the rear of that stone, and Sa'd B. Woqqâss discharged an arrow with such force into his eye that it issued from the back of his head, whereon he surrendered his spirit to the owner of hell, and the Musalmâns were freed from the mischief of that accursed fellow.

Wâqidi relates that A'mru B. Thâbet had a doubt about Islâm, and that every attempt to persuade him was unsuccessful. On this occasion, however, with those who were in close attendance at the courts of monotheism, the Opener of all doors removed the padlock of carelessness which was hanging from the casket of his heart, and opened it with the key of Divine favour and guidance, so that he made a sincere profession of monotheism, snatched up his arms, rushed to the battle-field, and fought till he was wounded, falling helplessly among the dead. When he was nearly on the point of expiring some Musalmâns happened to perceive, and to ask him: 'What was the reason of thy coming?' He replied: 'Love for God and for the apostle. Praise be to Allah that I have believed and attained the dignity of martyrdom!' When this information reached the prophet he said: 'Verily he is one of the denizens of paradise.'

Wâqidi says that on the day when the prince of the righteous—u. w. b.—was fighting the infidels in the battle of Ohod, Majaryq, who was a priest among the children of Esrâyl, said to his people: 'O ye Jews, I swear by God that you are certainly and verily aware that Muhammad is the apostle of the Lord, and that it is incumbent upon you to succour and to aid him; but you nevertheless hate him.' After he had said these words he desired to leave Madinah, and to join the army of Islâm, but the Jews said: 'Woe

betide thee! To-day is Sunday.'[237] He paid no attention to what they said, took up his arms, and ordered all his property to be given to his lordship [in case he should be slain in the battle], to dispose thereof according to his good pleasure. When he arrived on the battle-field he fought until he tasted the beverage of martyrdom, whereon his lordship said: 'Majaryq is the best of Jews!'

It is related that A'mru B. Jamuu', the Anssâri, was lame, and had four sons who enjoyed the happiness of being present at the battle-field. When he also insisted on accompanying the army of Islâm, the people hindered him, saying: 'Do not go. Thou art lame, and thy sons are in attendance upon his lordship the apostle.' He replied: 'You are giving me fine advice! Am I to let them go to paradise, and myself sit here with you?' His wife Hind B. A'bdullah B. Huzâm said: 'I think he will return fleeing!' When A'mru heard these words he armed himself and prayed as follows: 'O God, drive me not back to my family!' After he had left the house some of his friends advised him to return, and to withdraw his feet into the skirts of safety; but A'mru would not comply, joined his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—represented to him the unwillingness of his friends to let him go, and expressed the hope of entering paradise in spite of his lameness. His lordship exclaimed: 'Verily God has ennobled thee, and has exempted thee from the duty of fighting.' But when A'mru repeated his petition, the apostle ordered the people not to dissuade him any longer. Abu Ttolhah says: 'A'mru walked to the battle-field, and exclaimed: "I swear by God that I covet paradise." His son also followed him, and both fought till they were killed.

Wâqidi says: 'On that day A'ayshah proceeded with a number of women to the scene of the combat, to ascertain the result, the usage of keeping females segregated from males not having yet become current. On the road she met the wife of the lame A'mru, who had loaded her hus-

[237] No doubt the Sabbath of the Jews, *i e.*, Saturday, is intended.

band, her brother and her son upon a camel, to convey them to Madinah, and asked her for news. Hind replied: "The apostle of God is safe and sound, and after that any other calamity is easily bearable." Ssiddyqah continued: "Who are these?" Hind replied: "My husband A'mru, my brother A'bdullah, and my son Hallad, whom I am taking to Madinah to be buried" Meanwhile the camel of Hind had knelt down, and A'ayshah said: "The camel is unable to walk on account of its heavy load" Hind rejoined: "I think something else is the matter, because I usually put such a load on this camel as other people place upon two, and it never shows any signs of fatigue." Then Hind urged the camel on towards Madinah, but after a short while it again knelt down. Accordingly she turned its head towards Ohod, and, lo, it progressed quickly. When Hind arrived in Ohod she waited upon his lordship the apostle and informed him of what had taken place, whereon he exclaimed: "Verily the camel is predestined." It is related that his lordship asked, "O Hind, has A'mru said nothing?" She replied: "When he departed to Ohod he turned his face towards the Qiblah of prayer, uttering the words: 'O God, do not drive me back!'" Then his lordship said: "For this reason the camel would not progress!" He also added: "O Hind, thy husband, brother and son are together in paradise!" Hind exclaimed: "O apostle of Allah, intercede with God that I may likewise join them."'

The Murder of the Prince of Martyrs, Hamzah B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb—may Allah reward him!

Ancient biographers have related that the prince of martyrs, Hamzah B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, had in the fignt of Bedr killed Ta'ymah B. A'dy, wherefore Jobayr B. Mutta'm, the cousin of Ta'ymah, said to his slave Wohshy—whose javelin scarcely ever missed its mark—whilst they were proceeding to Ohod: 'If thou killest Hamzah, I shall grant thee thy freedom.' There is another tradition, that the

daughter of Hâreth B. A'amer B. Naufil, whose father had been slain in the battle of Bedr, had promised Wohshy his liberty in the following words: 'If thou killest one of these three individuals, namely, Muhammad, Ali or Hamzah, I shall procure thee thy freedom;' and some have considered this second tradition to be the correct one. In short, Wohshy replied: 'I am unable to kill Muhammad, and as for Hamzah, [I love him so much that] I would nót awaken him if I found him asleep; but if I perceive A'li, I shall possibly be able to throw my javelin at him.' It is related of Wohshy that he said: 'On the day of Ohod, when the flame of war blazed high, I saw A'li suddenly appear on the battle-field, and when I had looked on for awhile, I learnt that he was perfectly skilled in the art of war, having no equal in fighting and combating, because he kept an eye upon everything around him, guarded himself from the snares of his opponents, and slew every one whom he met. I was not his equal, and perceived that my hand was too short to injure the skirt of his dignity. Meanwhile Hamzah made his appearance like a furious lion, disturbed the ranks of the idolaters, and scattered them. When Sabaa' B. A'bdu-l-u'zza Khoza'ayar arrived opposite to the Musalmâns, shouting for a champion, Hamzah put himself into his way, reproached him with his mother's occupation of attending upon women at Mekkah, and despatched him with one blow of his sword to become the food of dogs. Meanwhile I was in ambush behind a rock, and when he came nearer, I threw a javelin at Hamzah which entered his navel and issued at his back. He nevertheless continued to approach me, but at last fell down, and I fled. On that occasion many of his friends arrived, exclaiming: "O Abu O'mmârah!" but he gave no reply, and I knew that it was all over with him. I waited, however, till the people had gone a little farther from him, then I again ran up to Hamzah, took up my javelin, and, ripping open his abdomen, I took out his liver, carried it to Hind, the mother of Moa'wiah, and said: "This is the liver of him who killed thy father." Then she put it into

her mouth and chewed it, but, being unable to swallow it, she spat it out again. She gave me all her dresses, trinkets and ornaments, promising also to present me with ten golden dinârs on her arrival at Mekkah. Then she requested me to show her the spot where Hamzah had fallen, and when I took Hind there, she cut off his ears, nose, and sexual organ, all of which she took to Mekkah; and for having chewed the liver Hind was afterwards called "the liver-eater."'

Waqidi says that Wohob B. Qabûs Mazany, with his nephew, Hâreth B. O'tbah B. Qâbûs, arrived from Khayl Mazânyah, in Madinah, but found the centre of Islâm empty of the apostle's presence, and having been apprised that he had, with his companions, departed to Ohod to acquire eternal merit and to repel the enemy, they likewise went to the same place, but arrived there only after the Musalmans had gained the victory, and were engaged in collecting the booty. It has been recorded above that also Khâled B. Wolyd and A'kramah B. Abu Jahl reached the Musalmâns just while they were plundering. Wohob and Hâreth stopped in the same place and fought valiantly. Meanwhile a number of the evil-doers advanced towards the prince of the righteous, and his lordship asked: 'Who will oppose this company?' Hâreth replied: 'I, O apostle of Allah.' Hereon that lion of the plain of bravery put the idolaters to flight. Then a second crowd approached. His lordship repeated the same question, but this time Wohob repeated the same answer, dismayed and repelled the idolaters. When the polytheists made their third onslaught the apostle again asked the same question. Wohob very readily again offered himself, and the apostle of God exclaimed: 'Arise, and receive the glad tidings of paradise.' Accordingly the two just-mentioned heroes joyfully attacked that company, and fought bravely. His lordship the apostle looked on how Wohob was fighting, till he left the ranks of the infidels and was returning. The wicked unbelievers, nevertheless, at last surrounded Wohob again, and killed him in the most cruel manner

with their swords and lances. It is said that not less than twenty spear-wounds were counted on his body. After that lion of the plain of bravery had been slain, his nephew Hâreth entered the lists of contention in consequence of his noble nature, and fought till he attained the dignity of martyrdom. It is related that Fârûq said: 'I have never seen a man display such bravery in any battle as he manifested at Ohod; because, after the professors of Islâm had fled on that day, the idolaters surrounded the apostle with several of his companions, and at every new crowd which rushed on his lordship asked: "Who will repel this flock?" Mazâny replied: "I, O apostle of God," and drove them off. When, however, Wohob offered himself for the last time, his lordship said: "Arise, and receive the glad tidings of paradise!" After that Mazâny turned towards the enemies, pursued and fought them. He then came out from among the infidels, but was slain whilst returning. I saw the apostle —u. w. b.—standing near his head and uttering the words: "May God reward thee! Verily I am pleased with thee." Then I saw him placed in a grave, and covered with clothes having red flags on them; and I wished my death to be like his.'

There is a tradition that Anus B. Malek said: 'On the day of Ohod I saw O'mar with a number of Musalmans sitting in a state of melancholy. I asked for the reason, and they replied: "The apostle of God has been killed." I continued: "What will you do now, and what are you expecting from your own lives? Rush forward and attack the enemies again, that they may be killed like him." Then I made with my own sword an onslaught upon the enemies.' Anus fought bravely, and departed to the gardens of paradise, after having received more than eighty wounds.

Wâqidi says Mâlek B. Alwahsham happened to pass near Sa'd B. Rabyi' after the latter had received twelve wounds. When he passed near Kharjah, who was suffering from thirteen mortal wounds, he said: 'Hast thou not heard that Muhammad has been killed?' Kharjah replied: 'If Muhammad is killed, God the Most High and Glorious

is not killed. Go thou and fight for thy religion.' The just-mentioned author also relates that Mâlek B. Alwahsham passed near Sa'd B. Rabyi', who was prostrated on the battlefield in consequence of twelve wounds he had received. Mâlek exclaimed : 'Knowest thou that Muhammad has indeed been killed?' Sa'd replied: 'I testify that Muhammad has indeed promulged the message of his Lord.' Then he said: 'Abide thou in thy religion, for God is ever living, and dies not.' It is related that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—said: 'Will anyone see whether Sa'd is among the living or the dead?' Accordingly one of the Anssar made a search, and found him among the dead, although there was still some life in him. He therefore informed Sa'd of what the prophet had said, and Sa'd replied: 'I am among the dead. Convey my salutation to the apostle of God—u. w. b.—and tell him that Allah will reward him with the best of rewards. Tell, also the people of Islam that if they become slack in the service of the prophet, none of their excuses will be listened to by the prophet and by the Lord of glory.' After that Sa'd yielded his life to the grasper of souls. The Anssâr returned, and reported his words to the prince of this world, and his lordship exclaimed: 'O God; be pleased with Sa'd B. Rabyi', for I am pleased with him.' It has been authenticated that in the battle of Ohod seventy Musalmâns were slain, namely, four Anssâr, and sixty-six Mohâjer. The circumstances, however, of all the principal companions and martyrs of Ohod—may Allah reward them! —are narrated in detailed accounts.

About Nasybah, the Daughter of Ka'b, called also Omm A'mmârah, and Several Events which it is necessary to narrate.

The stringers of the jewels of names have strung pearls of words in the following manner upon the thread of description: Nasybah, the daughter of Ka'b, was a lion-hearted, valiant, and brave woman, who used to fight with the sword in the company of her husband and of her sons

A'mmârah and A'bdullah. On the day of Ohod she was present with all the warriors of the religion, and the lions of the plain of certitude. She relates her story as follows: 'On the day of Ohod I had a water-bag, from which I slaked the thirst of the Musalmans; but when I perceived that the hands of the advocates of infidelity and of darkness were stretched forth to attack them, I ceased to give water, and went into the fight, where I combated to such a degree that I received thirteen wounds, one of which was cured only after a year had elapsed.' Being asked who had inflicted such a terrible wound upon her, she replied: 'On the day of Ohod I heard Ebn Qamyah exclaiming: "Show me Muhammad! Let me not be saved if he be saved." Hereon Mossa'b arrived opposite to him with a number of Musâlmans, I being also present among them, when all of a sudden Ebn Qamyah struck me, and I struck him; but as the enemy of God wore two cuirasses, none of my blows took effect upon him. When I received that dreadful wound from him, the prophet—u. w. b.—exclaimed to my son: "Son of Omm A'mmarah, hasten to thy mother and bandage her wound." I was with my children fighting near the apostle of God, whom his companions were abandoning in their flight. I had no shield, but the blessed vision of his lordship alighted upon one of the fugitives, saying: "Friend, leave thy shield to someone, for it is useful in battle." As soon as that man dropped his buckler I picked it up, and fought manfully near his lordship the apostle, until a trooper of the infidels struck me with his sword, which, however, took no effect upon me. I struck his horse, which then fell down with its rider, who extricated himself. The apostle of Allah—u. w. b—who was looking at me, shouted to my son: "O son of Omm A'mmârah, run to thy mother!" My son A'bdullah obeyed the behest, and we two killed that idolater.' A'bdullah B. Ssaybah says: 'On that day an infidel had struck me, and my mother, having bandaged my wound, said: "Get up and fight." At that time the apostle of God was looking at us, and seeing my mother encouraging me, he said: